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PREFACE

THIS book is an enlargement of certain articles on the subject which, about eight years ago, I was asked to write for the *Architectural Review*; these were published at intervals from 1905 to 1907. I had at first no thought of giving them a more permanent form. When certain friends urged me to do so, I proposed to publish them more or less as they stood, with the addition of references to authorities, such as a book requires. However, it soon appeared to me that more extensive alteration and enlargement were desirable, in the first place, because, however liberal of his space an editor may be (and those responsible for the *Architectural Review* gave me to a large extent a free hand), one can hardly help being cramped at times by the necessary scale of an article; secondly, because I hope that, since each article was written, I have gained a wider and more accurate knowledge of Irish architecture—a part of the subject I also, in 1907, worked out further in two articles for *Christian Art*, published at Boston, U.S.A. While therefore some parts of the book are now printed much as they originally appeared, most of these have been greatly enlarged or rewritten: the appendix is almost wholly new.

It is possible that some conclusions at which I have arrived may be resented as detracting from the originality of Irish architecture. Probably few people realize how difficult it is to find anything like a quite fresh departure in European architecture generally—Gothic building having been evolved out of Transitional and Romanesque work, and these again being more or less copied from Roman work; a careful study of De Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale* (for instance) will bring this fact home to anyone, probably somewhat to his surprise at the extent of the obligation revealed; I noticed the other day, at Borcovicus (Housesteads) on the Roman Wall, an example of a 'waterholding' base in Roman work, and have been wondering whether this is a coincidence or represents a further debt incurred. But really the only thing of importance appears to be that the art should be no dead or servile copy,

but alive, and this Irish architecture, of all or nearly all periods, most certainly is. However, in any case there has been no prejudice in the matter; I have tried to look into and weigh the evidence without preconceptions, and should have been greatly interested if this had pointed to the conclusion that, for instance, Irish Romanesque was the parent of ornamented Romanesque architecture generally: that by a coincidence both should have arrived at results which, in spite of certain important and well-marked differences in the Irish building and ornament, are so largely similar—this was very soon shewn to be incredible. I have, either in the text or the appendix, stated evidence for the views taken, and have tried to follow where the facts and reason led.

I started with the resolution that, as far as possible, I would have seen for myself all the buildings which I had occasion to cite. This ideal—as is so often the case with ideals—I have not fully reached, but I have approached it.

It was not possible to work at this subject for a number of years without incurring obligations to many for their help, which I am glad to acknowledge. First of all, there is the help and courtesy that I received in studying buildings on the spot, in so many districts of Ireland, from persons of all classes, clerical and lay, Protestant and Roman Catholic—the occasions when such study was made difficult might be counted on the fingers of one maimed hand. It would obviously be quite impossible for me to name all or most of those who made such investigations both easy and pleasant, but I ought specially to mention the help given me by Mr. John Minogue, caretaker of the Rock of Cashel; by the Librarians of the Cathedral Library at Armagh (in both cases this is further alluded to in notes or appendix), as well as by the authorities of the Science and Art Museum, Dublin, who (I believe) had some very excellent photographs of things preserved there taken specially for my benefit. I also owe an especial debt to my friend the Dean of Clonmacnois and to his family for making it possible for me to study those examples of Irish architecture and stone-carving which are accessible from Athlone. In examining many buildings and works of art, for comparison, in England and Scotland I have met with like kindness and assistance, in particular from the Dean of Durham, the Rector of Bewcastle, and the Minister of Ruthwell, nor ought I to omit my friend Mr. Alexander Ritchie, of Iona.

I am also specially indebted to Mr. Alfred Meigh of Ash Hall,

Stoke-on-Trent, for supplying me with a number of photographs illustrating Round Towers and crosses in Ireland, England, and Scotland which I had not then seen (though I have visited a good many of them since); to Mr. H. A. Douglass, Lecturer to the Architectural Association, London, for letting me see a number of photographs, Irish and English, bearing upon the subject of the book, as well as, I think, for some useful talks; to Mr. Guy Francis Laking, Keeper of the King's Armoury, for some opinions as to the dates of armour; to those connected with the British Museum, particularly Dr. C. H. Read, President of the Society of Antiquaries, Dr. G. F. Warner, and Mr. F. C. W. Hiley; and most of all to my brother, Mr. Basil Champneys, for most valuable help in checking or correcting my opinions on various points of construction or ornament, as well as for suggestions, particularly in the later divisions of the subject.

My obligations (in various degrees) to books are, I think, more or less completely stated in the list of those quoted or referred to. Since, however, I was studying the subject before I had any thought of writing a book on it, it is possible that one or two works to which I owe something may have been omitted. In references to Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* I have not thought it necessary to give the page, his statements about each monastery being almost all in one place, which is to be found at once by the arrangement of the book.

I think it is perhaps fair to point out that, where I have had to refer to 'restoration' at Iona, I have not had in view any work done by the present architect—Mr. P. Macgregor Chalmers; this I have not seen, not having visited the island since his appointment.

Of the illustrations more than half are from blocks made for the articles in the *Architectural Review*; these were very kindly placed at my disposal by those responsible for that journal; such of them as did not represent my own photographs I have, with some few exceptions, omitted, substituting others. A certain number of illustrations, chiefly of the Transitional and Late Gothic architecture, are from blocks made for the articles in *Christian Art*, which I bought from the publisher. To these more than a hundred new illustrations have been added, the blocks being made specially for the present work.

As regards the ultimate source of the illustrations, several of those representing grave-slabs (easily identified as being from drawings and not from photographs) are from *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish*

Language. Those of the Mullaghmast and Turoe stones, of the 'incense-cup,' and of the bronze ornament shewing interlaced work are from photographs by the official photographer to the Science and Art Museum, Dublin; the drawing which shews the detail of the bridle-bit was made for me from a similar photograph by a draughtsman employed by Messrs. John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson. The specimen of the Book of Kells was (I believe) taken from some facsimiles published by Messrs. Hodges, Figgis and Co.: that of the Lindisfarne Gospels I photographed later from the facsimile in *Celtic Illuminative Art* (brought out by the same publishers); on account of the fading of the MS. this copy really represents its original effect better than one would do which was taken straight from the original. Of the specimens of Late Gothic Mouldings, that from St. Audoen's, Dublin, was copied out of Parker's *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*; that of the arch to one of the transept-chapels at Holycross was checked (and slightly corrected) by comparison with the drawing in Close's *Holycross Abbey*; they were all put into correct form from my rough sketches by my nephew, Mr. Amian L. Champneys. The double photograph of 'beehive' huts on the Great Skellig is from Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, published by Messrs. Bell; that of the capitals below the chancel arch at Inismain is by Messrs. Langfier, of Old Bond Street. The rest of the illustrations are from photographs taken by myself; these were developed and printed for me by Messrs. Seaman of Ilkeston.

ARTHUR C. CHAMPNEYS.

HAMPSTEAD, 1910.

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CORRECTIONS, ADDITIONS, AND SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

P. 2. The Cromlechs are also frequently called "the beds of Dermot and Graine."

P. 8, middle of page, "the work was portioned out among different families or gangs."

A similar arrangement is more clearly marked in the Roman Wall (e.g. a little to the west of Housesteads) by 'insets'—the Wall going on with a slightly greater or less breadth; this is explained by inscriptions stating (e.g.) that the II Legion built 343 paces of the Wall. (See stone in the Museum at Chesters.)

P. 11, note 4, *for* "at Fahan" *read* "from Fahan."

P. 13, line 12, *after* "their tiles" *insert* "and dressed stones."

An early example of this use of Roman tiles is to be found in St. Pancras' Church, Canterbury. The dressed stones are not always so easy to identify, but the western arch of Corbridge Church, Northumberland (opening from the nave formerly into a porch, which is now raised into a tower) is in all probability, including its jambs and imposts, formed more or less completely of the stones of a Roman arch used with perhaps some slight alteration. Wilfrid's crypt at Hexham has in its walls or roof a number of inscribed or carved Roman stones—these last being used without arrangement, merely as building material; the decorative parts of the building seem all to have been carved expressly for it. The doorways in this crypt whose arches are each cut out of a single stone may also be of Roman work (like the similar arches belonging to the courtyard of the villa between Cilurnum and the Roman bridge over the North Tyne) as well as in all probability most, or possibly all of the squared stones, some of which shew "broached tooling." No doubt the church above was of similar materials. (Corstopitum, a few miles away, near Corbridge, may probably have supplied these.) The Roman columns between nave and chancel in St. Pancras' Church, Canterbury, are another early example.

There are many later examples in England of the use of Roman tiles and dressed stones; these are not so much to the purpose. The supply of materials of both kinds must have helped much to make the building of comparatively large stone (or brick and stone) churches easy, wherever these were on or near an old Roman site, though in the latter part of the VII century such a supply was not *indispensable* to English builders (see p. 220 etc.).

P. 18, eighth line from bottom of text, *after* "Colonsay" *for* "1" *read* "2."

P. 56. To the evidence for the date of the first Round Towers, the following quotation should perhaps have been added, from the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*:

"981. There was such boysterous windes this yeare, that it fell downen many turrets, and among the rest it fell down violently the steeple of Louth and other steeples."

Also, from the *Annals of the Four Masters*:

"1016. Dun-da-leathghlas [Downpatrick] was totally burned, with its daimhliag and cloictheach, by lightning."

P. 61. Round Towers in Scotland.

At Iona, to the south-west of the small ancient church or oratory alluded to on p. 39 (and presumably west of the principal church of the early monastery), there is the foundation of a round building, which was, many years ago, 'restored' into a well. This building was, according to all reasonable probability, a Round Tower.

P. 70, tenth line from bottom of text, omit commas.

P. 71. Interlacement on Roman mosaics.

There is also in the Guest-house of St. Mary's Abbey, York, part of a mosaic pavement, brought from Oulston, one complete division of which (a square of 6 ft. or more) is wholly occupied by a simple interlaced pattern, like basket-work.

P. 84, note 2, last line but one, *for* "Appendix J" *read* "Appendix I."

P. 88, end of note 2, *for* "Appendix L" *read* "Appendix J."

P. 96, etc. Our Lord on the Cross is also represented as clothed upon some other High Crosses besides those mentioned—*e.g.* on the Cross *Patricii et Columbe* and on the unfinished cross, both in the churchyard at Kells; in both these cases with a tunic reaching to the knees.

P. 108. Tombs near *Teampull Chronain*.

Early Greek tombs or coffins were sometimes triangular in section, and so were those of Romans under the Empire, built up of tiles. (See Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, pp. 555, 556, and specimens in the Guest-house of St. Mary's Abbey, York.)

P. 116, eleventh line from bottom of text, also on pp. 122, 124, *for* "Nun's" *read* "Nuns'."

P. 126, fourth line from bottom of text, inverted commas end after "X century."

P. 128, line 7, *for* "Priests'" *read* "Priest's"; eleventh line from bottom of text, *read* "as well as in."

P. 134, notes, *for* "Mickelthwaite" *read* "Micklethwaite."

P. 146, line 4, "terminates in"—*or rather*, "obviously forms"; each stone does, as a fact, run on through the arch or jamb, and contains one of the triangles which point downwards or inwards.

P. 157, line 9, "died out altogether"—*more precisely*, "ceased to be a living style."

P. 158, line 10, *after* "at Durham" *add* "or at Fountains Abbey."

P. 171, seventh line from bottom of text, *after* "Romanesque" *add* "or Transitional" [architecture].

P. 174. Omission of Cusps.

These are also commonly omitted in very late English Gothic windows, *e.g.* in those of the tower at Fountains Abbey (*circa* 1500), and later, but their omission does not become at all usual nearly so early as in Ireland.

P. 175. Tomb between Transept Chapels, Holycross.

In the north transept of Ripon Minster there is a very large altar-tomb (which can scarcely have been moved) standing between where two altars were.

P. 180, note 2, *for* "west and south" *read* "towards the east and the south."

P. 184. The nave arcade of Selsker Abbey.

There are very similar triangular projections, but point upwards, above square bases in St. John's Church, Newcastle, to conform their outline to that of an octagonal column; thus the arrangement is precisely as at Selsker Abbey, upside down. At Chesham, Buckinghamshire, and elsewhere the outline of the capital is conformed to that of the moulded or chamfered arch in a similar way.

P. 187, note 2. Some of the capitals belonging to the cloisters of Bridlington Priory (preserved in its church) have on them a sort of scallop pattern produced by a distinct imitation of folded stuff. See also p. 126, line 3.

P. 192. Dog-tooth in late Irish work.

In a hollow of the moulding of the label over the sedilia in Killeen Church dog-tooth is carved, which, however, in places becomes a sort of five or six-pointed star.

P. 193, fourth line from bottom of text, *after* "these are" *add* "often."

Crow-stepped Gables.

A similar effect is also produced with battlements on gables in England, *e.g.*, at Seamer and East Ayton, Yorkshire.

P. 198, thirteenth line from bottom of text, *after* "seen" *for* "1" *read* "2".

P. 203, line 4, *for* "north-east" *read* "south-east."

Pp. 209, 212. Roofs in grooves.

At Fountains Abbey there are more instances than one of the edge of a roof being inserted in a groove cut in a wall, though the Cistercians were in general careful builders.

P. 215, lines 12 and 13, *for* "two" *read* "three," *for* "lower" *read* "lowest."

P. 225, last line but two, *for* "On the shorter or south-eastern cross" *read* "On both the ornamented crosses."

P. 236, fifth line from bottom of page, *for* "in" *read* "about" [1250]. In one of the Guest-houses at Fountains Abbey, of XII century work, all (or nearly all) the shafts end in points a very short distance down.

IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

CHAPTER I

THE PRIMITIVE ARCHITECTURE OF IRELAND

"**W**HAT I complain of in Ireland," said an English tourist seated at breakfast in an hotel at Drogheda, "is that there are no old buildings there." He was then within a few miles of the 'prehistoric' vaults at Dowth and at Newgrange; of the ruined churches, the Round Tower, and the great crosses at Monasterboice; of the ruined abbey and the little old church at Mellifont; not to mention two good church towers and a singularly fine gateway, with other relics of the town walls, at Drogheda itself. It subsequently appeared that he had expected to find buildings more or less like the English Tintern Abbey at intervals along the roads.

This is too much to expect of any country. It must, however, be allowed that, while there are buildings in Ireland (such as the group on the Rock of Cashel, the two Cathedrals of Dublin and those at Kilkenny and Limerick, as well as some of the abbeys) which would attract the attention even of the unlearned, yet most of the Irish churches are small and the older efforts of Irish architecture are, as is natural, often unpretentious and need looking for; nor can their interest be appreciated without some study and knowledge. On the other hand Irish architecture has characteristics, beauties, and problems of its own, and, besides its special appeal to Irishmen, it comes with a certain freshness to Englishmen who take the trouble to study it—both for these reasons, and because certain periods or stages of architecture are fairly well represented in Ireland from which there are in England few or imperfect remains. At the same time the study of the subject has undoubtedly suffered through attention being too exclusively directed to a part of it, as well as from extravagant claims—as to antiquity or excellence—made on behalf of such work or of special examples of it. All such exaggeration we must try to avoid.

Gallauus, 'Pillar-stones' or 'Standing-stones' can hardly be considered as architecture, though (as we shall see later on) they are in

all probability to some extent the germ of the splendid High Crosses of later date. The 'cists' formed with slabs and covered over with earth may be considered as underground rooms built to contain a body or an urn or urns—there is a fine specimen set up again in the Dublin Museum. But perhaps it is safer to say that stone building in Ireland begins with the cromlech, dolmen, or 'Giant's Grave,' which, in its common form, is a tomb formed by great stones set up on end in the ground, making an oblong enclosure, and closed at the top with a huge roofing slab or slabs, the chinks being closed with small packing-stones. Many of these tombs are simple, with one roofing-slab; near Malinmore in Donegal there are six in a row along the side of a track, and (I was told) "they extend right up the mountain, but they are not big like these." Sometimes there are composite erections, roofed with several slabs—rather family or royal vaults than tombs; a huge one, between Glanworth and Fermoy, is locally said to be "the largest cromlech in Ireland." Whether these 'Giants' Graves' are large or comparatively small, they are in very many cases more or less ruined; the covering-stones are of enormous weight, constantly working to thrust over their supports, which are merely set up in the ground; in some cases the fall has been hastened by the removal of the packing-stones. Sometimes again a sort of cemetery or set of royal burial vaults is found, such as that between Carrick and Malinmore in Co. Donegal, known as *Clochanmore*, where a court is shut in with a rough enclosure of stones (which itself contains chambers in its walls) while at the west end are two rooms or passages side by side, each with an outer and an inner doorway, such as could be closed with stone slabs.¹ The roofing-slabs have mostly fallen or have been thrown down. It appears that they were not placed directly on the side-walls but 'corbelled out' with perhaps a single row of smaller stones—a step towards 'beehive' construction. There is something very similar in 'The Deer-park' a few miles from Sligo, where the court has had two chambers at one end, the end towards the east, and one chamber at the other. This cemetery has been somewhat more elaborate than *Clochanmore*, and is better known—but its chambers are less well preserved.²

Such erections, however interesting from their extreme antiquity and wonderful for the size of the stones used, shew little art in their

¹ The walls of the enclosure have been largely 'restored'—and falsified. The chambers appear clearly to have been covered with a cairn or cairns. For this see *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Consecutive Series (1890, 1891), Vol. I, p. 264, etc.

² For an account and plan of it see Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 234; Wood Martin, *Pagan Ireland*, p. 276, etc.

GALLAUN: WITH FALLEN
CROMLECH BEYOND (P. 1).

PART OF CROMLECH BETWEEN
GLANWORTH AND FERMOY
(P. 2).

CROMLECH, NEAR ATHLONE
(P. 2).

SEPULCHRE IN THE 'DEER PARK,' NEAR SLIGO (P. 2).

CHAMBER IN
CLOCHANMORE
(P. 2).

ENTRANCE, NEWGRANGE (P. 3 ETC.).

ENTRANCE TO CHAMBER, NEWGRANGE:
LOOKING FROM THE INSIDE (P. 3 ETC.).

To face p. 2

construction. But some Irish tombs, notably the great cairn at Newgrange, are magnified specimens of the 'beehive' house or *clochaun*, with a cairn of stones heaped around and to one side—there is of course no necessity for the principal chamber¹ to be in the centre of the mound. A 'beehive' roof is built, without mortar and without knowledge of the true arch, of stones that overlap each other more and more till they meet, or (much more commonly) until they can be closed by a flag or flags at the top—like a 'shouldered arch.' These roofs were kept from falling in, partly perhaps (where they are round) through being in rings—a lateral arch, as in the 'Treasury of Atreus' at Mycenae—but mainly by there being a greater weight on the outside of every stone, as in a see-saw with a heavy person seated on one end.² At Newgrange a passage 62 ft. long, varying in height from 4 ft. 9 in. to 7 ft. 10 in., built in the simple style of the cromlech, of upright blocks covered by great flags, leads into a chamber which, by a curious coincidence, is somewhat in the shape of a 'Celtic' cross, since the centre is an irregular hexagon, and there are three recesses—opposite the entrance and upon each side. This chamber measures 18 ft. by 21 ft. (counting in the recesses), and is lined with great upright slabs. The roof does not really rest on these (as is particularly plain at the entrance to the chamber), but from behind them rises a funnel-shaped dome formed of huge stones 'packed' with smaller ones, which narrows to an opening about two feet square and is closed, at a height of nearly twenty feet, by a slab. This is certainly a masterpiece of 'beehive' construction, more particularly since the problem is complicated by at least two of the recesses—the inner part of one of these, the largest, which lies to the east or north-east, is roofed with a great slab, while the one opposite the entrance has its own 'beehive' roof; the third (that to the left) is very shallow. The stones have been split from surface-blocks or quarried, but of course not squared. Many of them have been picked over or 'skinned,' to give them a fresh-looking surface, and many have been carved—in some cases certainly, and probably in all, before they were placed in their present position—being ornamented with various patterns, among which one notices lozenges (whole and halved), chevrons, and spirals. There is a solitary instance of a fern or leaf, as well as what is supposed to be a representation of a ship. The roofing-slab of the eastern recess

¹ A note in the *Journal R.S.A.I.* for 1893, p. 213, describes what seems to be the opening of another passage out of the chamber, which I did not observe. At Dowth (as is well known) there are other chambers besides the principal one.

² The construction can be well understood by experiments in building with dominoes which are quite flat—that is, without projecting rivets.

displays a pattern founded upon a combination of circles with a central lozenge, repeated or modified on other parts of the stone, which is a clever and effective composition. So, too, is the combination of spirals and lozenges on a stone placed outside the entrance, and an X or 'gate-pattern' carved in relief along the edge of a flat stone placed above the lintel. This is not the only instance to be found here of a disposition to treat stones which have the character of lintels with a horizontal pattern, but as a rule the artists have not felt bound to ornament the whole of a stone or any particular part of it. Sometimes the decoration is raised, the rest of the stone being cut away; sometimes it is sunk half an inch into the stone—a great advance on merely scratched or 'incised' ornament. An upright stone near the junction of the passage with the chamber is cut out in steps overhanging each other, suggesting part of a 'beehive' dome. Besides the stones at the entrance there are two others, whose carving is remarkable, on the outside of the cairn, which has a sort of boundary fence of standing-stones, set at intervals around it.

This tomb was very completely plundered by the Danes in the IX century,¹ nothing being left of any such articles of property as may have been buried with the dead, by which the date of the burials might be approximately determined. Fortunately, however, the decoration of the stones themselves, as interpreted in the last few years, gives sufficient evidence as to the approximate date of the work. The ornamentation is in general characteristic of the early Bronze Age—the chevrons and lozenges are common ornaments of bronze and of gold ornaments belonging to that period, and may be seen on the specimens in the Dublin and the British Museums. The fern or leaf-pattern is also found on bronze celts discovered in Ireland and Scotland.² On the other hand no weapon or ornament of this period has so far been found in Ireland on which the spiral is used.³ But there seems to be no doubt that this is a mark of 'Mycenaean' art, which, originating in Egypt, developed in and spread over the islands and coasts in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and then over eastern Europe northwards to the shores of the Baltic (following the route of the trade in amber), and thence to Scandinavia. Either from that

¹ See *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 862, and *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 861, with O'Donovan's note.

² See Sir John Evans, *The Ancient Bronze of Great Britain and Ireland*, fig. 98, p. 102, and fig. 26, p. 61; see also fig. 35, p. 66.

³ There is a stone carved with spirals in very much the same way as that at the entrance to Newgrange in a cairn at Loughcrew, near Oldcastle, Co. Meath. See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, part 2, plate iv, 5.

direction or from Spain it penetrated into the British Isles.¹ There is a splendid specimen of the use of spiral ornament to be seen on the gateway of the 'Treasury of Atreus' from Mycenae, large portions of which are now set up in the British Museum; this may be compared with the similar but rougher ornament at Newgrange. (These spirals are not the parents of the 'Late-Celtic' spiral or 'trumpet-pattern,' which had, as we shall see later on, a different origin). 'Beehive' building is common at Mycenae, and perhaps, in view of the artistic link between Ireland and that city, we may connect their style of building too. At all events we have in Ireland 'beehive' construction rather fully developed at a date which must at latest be many centuries before Christ, and this practical knowledge is not likely to have altogether died out, however decorative art may have decayed.²

Next, something must be said of the stone forts of Ireland. It is probably quite incorrect to separate these from the forts built of earth—from an archaeological point of view; in parts of the country where stone was plentiful it would naturally be used; where it was not, earth-works with palisading would more naturally be constructed. On the south of Galway Bay earth-forts are plentiful near the sea, while there are many stone-forts a few miles inland; near Kilmalkedar a stone fort overlooks one of earth just below it; often the two forms of fortification are used in combination—thus Dunbeg, near Sleah Head, has four lines of earth-works outside its stone wall, and Grianan Aileach, near Derry, was similarly defended; in a fort a little beyond Ventry, earth-works have outside of them a stone-lined ditch and a stone wall above it. It is important to keep these facts in mind as bearing on the history of the forts, though, from an architectural point of view, the stone-building alone concerns us. Such forts are not peculiar to Ireland. "The chain of ruined forts (of the same types as are found in Ireland) extends without a break from Thessaly and Bosnia through Hungary, Prussia, the Low Countries, France, Switzerland, and the British Isles";³ they are found also in Denmark and Sweden, and the

¹ See Coffey, *The Origins of Prehistoric Ornament in Ireland* in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1894-1896: also 1897 (p. 248), and Read, *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities*, British Museum, especially pp. 90, 91, 100, 118, 122, 123, 146. The 'Mycenaean' art is believed to begin before 2000 B.C. and to have been most widely extended about 1500 B.C. The carvings which represent it in Ireland may, of course, be a good deal later.

² The carvings at Dowth, which at first sight seem more primitive than those at Newgrange, are believed to be 'decadent' and of later date.

³ Westropp, *The Ancient Forts of Ireland*, p. 16. This work is reprinted from the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, and may be consulted with advantage on the whole subject.

'Pelagian' work at Mycenae shews analogies with the Irish stone forts. It seems that plans of fortifications may have passed from the south-east to the north-west of Europe, as artistic ideas clearly appear to have done, though they need not have travelled precisely by the same routes or at the same time.

As to the age of such forts, some in Bosnia have been dated, by objects found under circumstances which connect them with those who used the forts, as far back at least as 800 B.C. Forts in Yorkshire and a fort in Wales have, in accordance with the objects found in them, been referred to the Bronze Age; some of the Irish forts appear on the like evidence to be of similar date; Dun Aenghus may be of still greater antiquity. Castel Coz in Brittany has been occupied first by Celts then by Romans.¹ But, while there seems to be no doubt as to the antiquity of the type and of certain examples of this, it is even more certain that such forts were still used, repaired, and built in Ireland down to comparatively recent times. The building of forts in the V and in the VI century A.D. is recorded, and that Grianan Aileach was demolished in A.D. 674, 937, and 1101;² thus it must have been rebuilt (or at least repaired) in or after the VII and again in the X or the XI century: "the stone fort of Kincora was demolished in A.D. 1062, and again in 1098;" it had been rebuilt in 1096.³ And a "princely circular palace of earth," built at Clonroad before A.D. 1240, was, still later, strengthened with a stone rampart—and also with a tower.⁴ The *cahir* or *dun* is still treated as something in present use in the early Irish literature, and this ancient type of fortification lasted on till it was gradually superseded by the castle.⁵ We shall constantly

¹ Westropp, *The Ancient Forts of Ireland*, pp. 20, 33, 41, 45, etc. I am informed that 'a brooch with trumpet-ends' was found in the walls of Staigue Fort, which, from the description, would appear to belong to the Bronze Age. (See illustrations in *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age in the British Museum*, pp. 146, etc.) It was considered to be at least 2,000 years old. But as to the caution generally necessary in drawing conclusions from 'finds' in forts, see some most judicious remarks in Mr. Westropp's paper or book, referred to above, pp. 47, 55, etc.

The expression used by Tacitus about the defences of Caractacus' position, "Et si qua clementer accedi poterant, in modum valli saxa praestruit" (*Annals*, xii, 33), certainly suggests a dry-stone wall. Proof of the use of a timber framework filled in with stone, as mentioned by Caesar at Alesia (*Gallic War*, vii, 33), has been found at Beuvray in France, and in some Scotch forts; Westropp, as above, pp. 32, 38.

² *Annals of Ulster*; but the *Annals of the Four Masters* at the year 937 say "Aileach was plundered by the foreigners."

³ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁴ See Westropp, as above, p. 51.

⁵ Between Ventry and Smerwick Harbour there is a large tower built inside what appears to have been an older earth fort. For many similar instances see Westropp, as above, p. 53.

EARTHWORKS, WALL AND
GATEWAY, DUNBEG
(P. 5).

GATEWAY (FROM INSIDE) AND
ENTRANCES TO GUARD-ROOMS,
DUNBEG (PP. 8, 9).

OUTSIDE OF GATEWAY, DUNBEG,
SHEWING THICKENING OF
WALL (P. 8).

STAIGUE FORT (PP. 7-9).

STAIGUE FORT; SHEWING ARRANGEMENT OF STEPS AND OPENING TO CHAMBER (P. 8).

To face p. 6

meet with a somewhat similar conservatism in tracing the course of Irish architecture.

Besides the definite instances recorded of the building (or more or less complete rebuilding) of forts in comparatively recent times, so long as a building is in actual use, it will naturally be liable to repair, partial rebuilding, and improvement in detail. While later work at Grianan is implied in its history, it is very evident at Dunbeg from the building itself, and is probably shewn also in the joints beside the gateway of Dun Aenghus and in other examples. It is therefore quite plain that, while we shall doubtless be roughly correct in assigning the main characteristics of the forts to a very early period, we cannot press any detail of a particular fort as belonging certainly to some very ancient date. Again, in a good many cases, forts, notably the three just mentioned and others on the Aran Islands, have been 'restored' without special care for the correctness of particular details, out of what had become (in some cases through boys hunting out rabbits) to a large extent mere heaps of stones. Fortunately, however, there are plenty of forts left unrestored—Staigue Fort, for instance, one of the most interesting, appears to have been left almost untouched—and, in the case of a good many of those which have been tampered with, photographs or other records exist shewing their state before 'restoration.' The want of scrupulous care and accuracy is greatly to be regretted, even where the restoration does give a fair general idea of what an Irish stone fort was like in its perfect state.¹

We may now give a short general description of the characteristics of these stone forts, large numbers of which are to be found on or near the west coast as well as on the Aran Islands. There is often one line of defence inside another. The walls most often entirely surround a plot of ground, but sometimes cliffs complete its protection, as in Dubh Cathair, the 'Black Fort' on the Aran Islands; also at Dunbeg, in the Dingle Peninsula, where a straight wall, with a ditch and earthworks outside it, cuts off a promontory. At Dun Aenghus the crescent-shaped walls now abut upon the cliffs; some or all of them may (as some think) once have been complete rings. The forts are built without mortar,

¹ See Westropp, as above, especially pp. 76, 77; Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i. It may be said that, if the forts have been idealized, yet, as a rule, features have not been introduced which do not occur in other examples. Thus at Grianan Aileach there was certainly one ancient terrace, and a greater number may probably have existed there as elsewhere; the case is similar with flights of steps in the Aran forts. This excuse, however, cannot be made for the foolish-looking buttress built up against the outside of the inner wall at Dun Aenghus, which looks as if it were meant to make storming easy. The cashel of Inismurray too has been terribly maltreated in parts,

the masonry varying with the rocks of the district; often boulders are used, dressed or in their natural state, the gaps filled up with smaller stones—a mode of building which we shall often meet with again in Ireland; sometimes the wall is coursed almost like ashlar; sometimes it is 'polygonal.' These various forms of building have analogies with very ancient buildings abroad, for instance in Greece; they are also found in modern roadside walls in Ireland. Sometimes the stones used are very large, as at Dunbeg and at Cahir Gel, near Cahirciveen. These stones are in many cases obviously split off from larger blocks, not merely picked up in the fields; they are often laid as 'headers,' to hold the whole together. The walls, which are often of great thickness, are sometimes in two or three parts, so to speak, built parallel to and against one another, but each properly faced, with a rubble centre; as a rule, however, they are simple—two well-built faces, with a core of packed stones. Sometimes horizontal joints are to be seen, marking rebuilding; sometimes there are vertical joints, suggesting that the work was portioned out among different families or gangs—as when the wall of Jerusalem was repaired under Nehemiah.¹ Some of these forts, such as Dunbeg and Grianan Aileach, have platforms running along the wall on the inside, and in a good many of them there were flights of steps giving access to these and to the top of the walls—at Staigue Fort, not far from Waterville, they are numerous and elaborately arranged in an X shape. The gateways, which often diminish slightly in breadth towards the top, are surmounted by a simple lintel, which is occasionally, as at Staigue, relieved by a stone of equal or greater length a short distance above it, having its own hold upon the wall; sometimes the lintel rests on upright blocks or slabs standing as doorposts, but usually upon coursed masonry. At Dun Aenghus, the gateway is emphasized by bringing the wall on each side of it a few inches forward. At Dunbeg it is thrown more boldly forward at a greater distance to the right and left; this forms part of the wall added on the outside to the original fortification.² Behind this outer wall the passage opens out to its original breadth of seven feet. Here the side-walls approach each other but little, and the flags which roof it are of great length; but within the fort, at each side of the entrance, there are low doorways³ leading

¹ Ch. III, and IV, 6.

² The joints on each side of the gateway at Dun Aenghus also seem to imply its rebuilding, as already stated.

³ There is a doubt as to the genuineness of the one on the western side. On this and other questionable points and for a full account of Dunbeg, see Macalister, *On an Ancient Settlement in the South-west of the Barony of Corcaguiny, County of Kerry*, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, part vii, p. 220, etc. Also Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, p. 19, etc.

DUN AENGHUS: GATEWAY FROM INSIDE

(PP. 7, 8)

(A wooden door-frame
has been inserted in
the gateway.)

STAIGUE FORT: OUTSIDE OF GATEWAY (P. 8).

BALLYKINVARGA FORT: SHEWING DEFENCE OF POINTED STONES (PP. 9, 10).

To face p. 8

'BEEHIVE' HOUSES IN EN-
CLOSURE, NEAR FAHAN
(P. 10).

TRIPLET OF 'BEEHIVE' HUTS,
FAHAN: VIEW FROM NO. 1
THROUGH NO. 2 INTO NO. 3
(P. 10 ETC.).

CAHIRDORGAN
(P. 11).

into oblong rooms with 'beehive' roofs, running parallel to the entrance, with which they communicated from each side by a sort of squint; one of these openings was blocked in connection with later narrowing of the outer part of the passage. There is a second opening from one of these rooms to allow of a beam being slid across the passage into a hole on the other side (afterwards similarly blocked); and there are holes on each side of the narrower passage through the outer wall which were also doubtless for fixing a beam; the doors thus secured may probably have been stone slabs.¹ There are 'beehive'-built cells in the wall of Staigue Fort, there were others in the walls of Dun Aenghus and the 'Black Fort';² and there are two passages in the wall of Grianan Aileach.

Dunbeg has a curious passage, roofed with slabs, running out under the entrance; it was probably intended to enable the garrison to escape if the fort was taken, or "to sally and assail an attacking band in the rear." Underground passages roofed with flags, known as 'souterrains,' or 'caves,' frequently occur in forts; many of these open into 'beehive' chambers, used no doubt as store-houses, but also as retreats, in the last resort. In Parkmore Rath (Co. Clare) a chamber opens out of the roof of such a passage, and this chamber has a trap-door opening into a room below from which a small passage leads out through the rampart. It is obvious that such a retreat could hardly be stormed—though the defenders might be starved out; in a very elaborate souterrain close to Ventry containing several rooms, 'beehive'-built and roofed with slabs, the remains of two bodies were found in a sitting posture. Some of the inner rooms of this are, I was told, "built round with stones half a ton weight."³ There is another souterrain in the churchyard of Glencolumbkille (Co. Donegal) which is inside an old fort; and in general they are very common in that situation.⁴

A few of these forts have stones laid outside them—like *abattis* or wire entanglements—to stop a rush. Outside the second rampart of Dun Aenghus long blocks of stone, as much as three or four feet high, are closely set sloping in the ground; round Ballykinvarga (near Kilfenora) pointed stones are fixed in the ground with smaller spikes of stone between them; they form a band of 50 to 100 feet broad, and are still not

¹ Westropp, as above, p. 79.

² Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, p. 9.

³ This souterrain is said to contain eleven rooms, opening out of each other; I can myself answer for the first two only, as I was unable to get far into it for want of a candle; I had not known of its existence till a coastguard told me of it, and I had not time to re-visit it.

⁴ See Westropp, as above, p. 88, etc. Caesar says of the Gauls, "apud eos . . . omne genus cuniculorum notum atque usitatum est." (*Gallie War*, VII, 22).

easy to walk through—and impossible to run over. There are somewhat similar obstructions at Pen Caer Helen in Wales, Dreva and Cademuir in Scotland, Castel Coz in Brittany, in Switzerland and on the Baltic.¹ But this, however interesting, is perhaps not architecture.

As to the purpose of these forts, whatever other uses they or some of them may have served,² they were for the most part fortified residences, for the king or chief and his retainers, though no doubt the people living outside and their cattle would also take refuge in them in times of danger. We have already noticed this use of them; Grianan Aileach was the fortified palace of the O'Neills, just as the forts of Tara contained the houses which formed the palace of the kings of Ireland. Over the greater part of Ireland the houses inside the fortifications would of course be built of wood, and there are naturally no remains of these—in forts or elsewhere. But in districts where wood was not to be got close by and stone was certainly plentiful there are remains of stone houses, varying from a mere trace to something approaching complete preservation; some of these were probably roofed with timber and thatched or covered with 'scraws' of turf, others certainly had roofs of stone. The round huts now partially 'restored' in the 'Black Fort' on Aranmore reproduce with rough accuracy the original state of things there; and the same may be said of those in Dun Conor on Inismaan;³ at Dunbeg it appears very doubtful whether the former inhabitants would recognize the building now standing within the wall, except by the stone-built drain which runs round its site.⁴ But quite near Dunbeg there are many 'bee-hive' huts remaining, some inside 'cahirs' or stone forts; in one—now known as Cahir Murphy—the huts, single or in groups, almost fill the enclosure, leaving room only for small courts and passages. Here, and in other examples near, there are upright slabs for doorposts—though they do not always really support the lintel—one of these, being a tombstone, has been carried off to Dublin (we shall have to refer to it again); the doorways often narrow slightly towards the top. Another group stands in the open; there are three cells opening into each other; attached to the end one on the outside is a smaller square hut or room, with a paved path leading to its door. The roofs of these have mostly fallen in (perhaps through the abstraction of their outer stones, which seem so unnecessary and are so essential),⁵ but many of them have now been cleared out, and

¹ See Westropp, as above, p. 84, and Christison, *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, p. 225.

² For these see Westropp, as above, p. 59, etc.

³ See Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. i, pp. 9 and 7.

⁴ See Macalister, *On an Ancient Settlement*, etc., as above.

⁵ See p. 3.

are easy and interesting to study. They are skilfully built; on the outside the stones are so laid as to shoot off the rain; they are beautifully smooth on the inside. They have cupboards in the walls, in some cases there are sleeping-recesses in the thickness of the wall, and 'souterrains' (some of considerable size) beneath—a native of the district told me, in 1903, that his father remembered a man and his family living in one of these stone houses. There is a group just above Kilmalkedar (called Cahirdorgan) inside a fort with walls from 9 to 13 feet thick enclosing a space which is nearly 90 feet across.¹ In this are three round stone houses, the two largest 15 feet across, the third a little smaller; to one of these is attached a small hut of similar character still retaining its roof of flags, and a very small oval hut completes the remains. These are of similar building to those near Fahan and Dunbeg, above described.

These groups of stone houses were no doubt ordinary habitations for a family, including their servants and, in some cases, their retainers. For, though it is no doubt tempting² to regard them as religious settlements,—of monks or hermits, some of them founded in a fort which became their cashel or *vallum*—yet the arrangement of the grouped buildings in general shews no marked correspondence with that which is suggested by Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, for instance, and what is found at Inismurray and on *Eilean Naomh* (one of the Garvelloch Islands off the west coast of Scotland) and, what is of greater importance, there is only one building near Fahan which can be identified as a church.³ Are they then 'prehistoric,' pagan, of immemorial antiquity, as the *gallauns* near Fahan and the small cromlech or cist in what looks like a pagan burial-ground a very little way from Cahirdorgan might perhaps suggest? Of course these could prove nothing except that there were inhabitants on or near the sites in pagan times. On the other hand stones with crosses are found in burial-places near Fahan and an amulet marked with a cross was picked up within one of the forts. Some further evidence as to date may be derived from the slab above referred to, used as a door-post to one of the stone houses, and now in the Dublin Museum; it bears a cross on each side, some very rough carving, and an Ogham inscription; since it is carved on both faces it is certainly older than the doorway of the house in its present state.⁴ The case of such stone houses, as regards their date, is plainly somewhat the same

¹ These dimensions are from Westropp (as above), p. 97.

² I regret that I was formerly thus misled myself.

³ The question of their character and date is more fully discussed in Mr. Macalister's paper mentioned above, p. 292, etc.

⁴ See Appendix H, The Cross-slab at Fahan in the Dingle Peninsula.

as that of the forts, the type of which is very ancient, though examples of it may be comparatively modern. 'Beehive' building, as Newgrange proves, is of very great antiquity in Ireland. Some of the 'beehive' houses may be of extremely ancient foundation, though in that case they may probably have been altered or rebuilt in later times; on the other hand they may be of comparatively recent or even of quite modern date, for, besides intermediate examples of 'beehive' construction—as in the tower of a castle on an island in Lough Mask and the top of the circular stair-case of Taghmon Church, near Mullingar—such huts are still built at the present day. I have seen several modern instances in the neighbourhood of Dingle; in one case, at Kilmalkedar, a more or less ancient 'beehive' cell, remodelled as a pig-stye, but now a tool-house, had had a fowl-house of similar construction built on to the end of it. Of another fowl-house in the same district, round and built with mortar, I was told, "It's we that built it ourselves"—as was pretty obvious. One rather large one was actually being built near Fahan, with mortar; "they are much harder to build," said the constructor, "than the common sort of shed; the stones want picking so carefully." Ireland is a conservative country, and this trait often comes out in its architecture, but it is startling to find this mode of construction in use (probably without a gap) for a period which may approach (or even exceed) 3,000 years.

We have now seen specimens of the most primitive secular or pagan architecture of Ireland; some examples that have been noticed date unquestionably from long before the coming of Christianity into Ireland, others, of more recent date, exhibit the same very ancient type. We shall find that the most primitive ecclesiastical buildings start from and reproduce the same style of building without a break, though the difficulty of assigning a precise date to particular examples of these to a large extent remains.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE OF IRELAND

ST. PATRICK'S life and work, as is well known, fall in the V century, but there were certainly Christians in Ireland before his time,¹ and heathen there after it. Ireland, there can be no doubt, first learnt its Christianity from Britain;² through St. Patrick it came into touch with Gaul, and in all probability with Rome as well.³ But from the middle of the V century for nearly 150 years Ireland was to a very large extent cut off from the influence of central and southern Europe by the advance of the English into Britain from the east and the south, and by the half-barbarous invaders of Gaul; and even when this isolation was broken, its results did not disappear till a much later time. Never conquered by the Romans, Ireland had neither their buildings to copy nor their tiles to make building "in the Roman style" easy. Thus it carried on its architecture, like its life, to a very great extent in its own way.

The Church of Ireland was in its early days very largely indeed a monastic church. There were monks and nuns there in St. Patrick's time,⁴ but monasticism was greatly strengthened and extended in the VI century under the "Twelve Apostles of Ireland." Irish monastic settlements were of two kinds, though some no doubt occupied an ambiguous position between these. Besides those which did missionary and educational work, such as the great missionary establishment of Hy or Iona and the learned community of Clonmacnois, there were the abodes of one or more persons who lived like hermits, giving themselves up to prayer and meditation, besides such work as was necessary to maintain life, very much like the earliest societies in Egypt and Syria out of which

¹ The words of Prosper of Aquitaine, under the year 431, "Ad Scottos in Christum credentes ordinatur a papâ Caelestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur" (Migne, *Patres Latini*, li, p. 595), seem to prove this. The first edition of Prosper's *Chronicle* was published in A.D. 433. See Zimmer, *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 17, etc., 32; and Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 349, etc.

² For philological proof of this see Zimmer, as above, p. 24, etc.

³ See Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 228, etc.; 294, etc.; and p. 367, etc.

⁴ See Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 171, etc., and St. Patrick's *Confession*, cc. xviii, xxi.

monasticism grew. Such places were also used for temporary 'retreat,' just as that active Irish missionary bishop of Northumbria, St. Aidan, "used often to retire to Farne Island for private prayer and silence";¹ these hermitages were often, though not always, placed on islands. Now there were in the early part of the V century many island monasteries in the Mediterranean, among them the important community of Lérins, where St. Patrick spent some years,² and islands had a special attraction both for Irish monks and Irish hermits; but obviously the character and position of each settled the use to which it could be put—an island in a lake, or one which was near the coast and had good harbours might be well adapted for spreading religion and civilization, while harbourless islands and those at a distance from the mainland would have no advantage but seclusion. However, 'diserts' or hermitages also existed in the immediate neighbourhood of monasteries and in connection with them, as at Iona, close to *Port-an-Diseart*; at *Teampull-na-Skellig*, Glendalough; at Derry; and elsewhere.³

There are many stories of how Irish kings, on their conversion, offered a royal palace as a habitation to those who had converted them.⁴ Such a residence would—as we saw in the last chapter—consist of buildings (most of which could be used or adapted⁵ for the purposes of the monastery) inside an earthwork or a wall of stone. But, apart from the fact that certain monasteries would thus naturally make their start inside an enclosure, such a cashel or *vallum* was necessary to a monastery; if not required for defence, it was essential as bounds for the monks, and is frequently mentioned in connection with early monasteries.⁶ The early monastic settlements in Egypt and Syria were on this plan—a church and cells within an enclosure; and, while more or less direct intercourse between Ireland and the East is by no means excluded, and some things, such as the early use of book-satchels, to be hung on pegs,⁷ in both regions, seem to point to it, at all events the

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 16.

² See Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 294, etc.

³ See Reeves, *Life of St. Columba by Adamnan*, pp. 365, etc.

⁴ See Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inismurray*, p. 12. So, too, shortly before A.D. 640 St. Fursa, the Irish missionary to East Anglia, established a monastery inside Burgh Castle, which the king gave him. From the English name 'Cnobheresburg' it appears that this site was (or had recently been) inhabited. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 19.

⁵ See Westropp, *The Ancient Forts of Ireland*, p. 62.

⁶ See e.g. *Life of St. Columba by Adamnan*, i, 3; ii, 29; and Reeves' notes.

⁷ See the account of the Abyssinian monks' library in a monastery near the Natron Lakes in Egypt; Curzon, *Monasteries of the Levant*, pp. 103, 105, 106; Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, ii, p. 246. "The Seven Egyptian monks who lie in

general plan of primitive monasticism had passed (with accounts of the lives of its founders) almost or quite untouched to the north-west of Europe, and reproduced itself in Ireland. Thus the first Irish monks had at home a type of building to use or to copy, designed for other purposes, but which more or less fitted their principles and their rule, or we may say that their rule required a set of buildings arranged on some such plan—both influences tended to a similar result.

The establishments for hermits, whether living singly or in small groups, were laid out on the same general plan as the larger monasteries. However decided St. Cuthbert may have become in his opposition to the special Irish view as to the proper date for Easter and on the other matters in dispute, he had been trained under Irish Christians, and was likely naturally to follow their lead. And, from the account of his hermitage on Farne Island,¹ he obviously did so; what we hear of it from Bede both fits and illustrates what we see in the remains of Irish hermitages. There was a nearly round enclosure or cashel "four or five perches across," the wall on the outside higher than a man standing up, and by cutting out the rock made much higher on the inside, "in order that, with a view to restrain the licence both of eyes and thoughts and to raise up and direct the mind wholly to heavenly longing, the pious inhabitant might be able to see nothing from his dwelling except the heaven." The wall was built of uncut stones and turf, some of the stones so large that it seemed impossible that he could have moved them and set them in their places (as he was found to have done) without the help of angels. He had two buildings inside it—an oratory and another suited for the ordinary purposes of habitation; their walls were of the natural earth dug out or cut away inside and outside; the roofs of unshaped logs and thatch: somewhat later the oratory was roughly rebuilt with boards. There was a larger house near the harbour, to receive those who came to see him (answering to the *hospitium* or guest-house of monasteries), and a spring near it. All this was not built without the help of the other monks of Lindisfarne; and though no doubt in some cases a single hermit or one or two companions may well have set up their first rough buildings, huts, or shelters on islands or in remote spots on the mainland, unaided, they would doubtless often, like St. Cuthbert, have the assistance of their friends to give them a start. St. Cuthbert (who, after being made

Disert Ulidh" are invoked in the Litany of Oengus the Culdee; see Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. i, p. 539. For the connection of Gaul with Egypt see G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 168, etc.; *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, i, p. 414, etc.

¹ See Bede, *Vita Cuthberti* in Migne, *Patres Latini*, especially cc. xvii, xviii.

bishop, came back to Farne to die there) had his successors for centuries on the island, and in many cases such a spot of established sanctity would, either in the lifetime of the founder or afterwards, attract more inhabitants to enjoy its religious associations and advantages. The corn (and perhaps onions) which the saint grew, and the cross which he set up to the south of his oratory, are mentioned in the same account. The reason above quoted for the height of the cashel is to be noticed, as giving another reason for thus surrounding monasteries and hermitages; perhaps also because it may supply a possible explanation of the passages which are sometimes found leading to the doors of oratories, as at *Oilean tSenaig* and Inishglora;¹ these might enable the religious man to pass from his cell to the church wholly without distraction. Just as St. Cuthbert, who at first would come out of his cell to meet those who came to see him and would wait on them, afterwards shut himself up and was less and less to be seen even through the window of his cell, so there were different degrees of seclusion among hermits generally, the highest degree of asceticism being reached by him who was completely 'inclusus';² it is quite possible that some of the small cells (whether underground or not) which are mentioned below may have been used for such a purpose. It should also be noticed that the cashel was of stones and turf, though for the earthen walls of the oratory wood (not stone) was soon substituted.

After this brief sketch of the conditions under which early Irish monasteries and hermitages came into existence, we may now look at one or two specimens of these.

Off the west coast of Ireland, not very far from Sligo, is the island of Inismurray.³ Upon this is a circular enclosure of stones built without mortar, containing some 'beehive' houses, a number of passages, and three churches. The wall varies in thickness from 7 to 13 feet; the thicker portion (that to the north-west) being of larger blocks and better masonry than that on the opposite side; it was more (most likely considerably more) than 13 feet high. It had four, or perhaps five, gateways, two (in the thicker portion of the wall) being of a very

¹ See Dunraven, as above, i, pp. 38, 41, 42. In the church of Old Slievemore, on Achill Island, the west walls appear to have been carried out 10 or 11 feet. It is just conceivable that such approaches may be due to vague imitation of an *atrium* or *narthex*.

² See quotations in Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 180, for instances in the V century (in Palestine) and in the XI century at Fulda; in the latter case two Irish 'inclusi' are mentioned.

³ See Wakeman, *A Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inismurray*; Dunraven, as above, i, p. 45, etc. (this was written and the photographs taken before the 'restoration'); Westropp, *The Ancient Forts of Ireland*, pp. 76, 81, 82, 115, 116.

'THE SCHOOLHOUSE,' STEPS ON WALL OF CASHEL, AND GABLE OF
TEAMPULL-NA-TEINIDH, INISMURRAY (P. 17).

CROSS-SLAB IN WALL OF CASHEL, INISMURRAY
(PP. 17, 18, 81).

To face p. 16

MOLAISE'S HOUSE,
INISMURRAY (P. 18).

EILEAN NAOMH: EAST
END OF CHURCH (INSIDE)
(PP. 20, 21).

PAIR OF 'BEE-
HIVE' HUTS:
EILEAN NAOMH
(P. 21).

'BEEHIVE' CELLS ON THE GREAT SKELLIG (P. 18 ETC.).

elaborate kind—on the outside there is a very low entrance, only 2 ft. 8 in. high; this leads through a passage roofed with flagstones to a 'beehive'-roofed chamber, in which the floor rises abruptly (in one very high step, 2 ft. 6 in. high) and from the inner side of this room a door of something like the usual height opens into the enclosure. It is obvious how easily such an entrance could be defended. There were also on the inside of the wall a number of flights of steps, somewhat like those at Staigue Fort: most of these have now been 'restored' into straight-sided niches, in which tomb-stones have been set up. It is tolerably plain that we have here an ancient fort, used as the *vallum* of a monastery—a purpose for which it was not originally intended; the founders of the religious settlement would probably not have had the wish to build such a fortification, and they are unlikely to have had the necessary labour available.

The space within this cashel is on the north and west divided up by inner walls, a large open space being left around the principal church. Between these walls and the cashel the ground is for the most part raised—like a terrace—probably by *débris*, and through this passages run, which, owing to burials and through injury done by rough searches for the produce of illicit stills, cannot now for the most part be satisfactorily traced. One, however, appears to have led from the late church (probably occupying the site of an earlier one) known as *Teampall-na-Teinidh*, the 'Church of Fire,' to the oratory or small church called 'Molaise's House.' These passages sometimes open out into cells.

Three 'beehive' houses remain, built of undressed stones, without mortar. Of these the 'School-House' is nearly round; its greatest measurement across, internally, is 13 feet; its height, 14 feet; it has a seat or bed-place built up on one side, and a single window 1 ft. high and 1 ft. 8 in. across; the door is less than 4 feet high, with slabs at the sides, forming the jambs, which slope more than is usual in such buildings. Another stone building of similar character, more or less oval in shape, with a smaller room opening out of it, is known as the Lent *Trahaun*, or Place of Prayer; its doorway is very similar to the one just described. A third much smaller building, more or less of a horseshoe shape, is called 'the Sweat-house,' and really appears to have been what its name describes—the hot-room of a 'Turkish Bath,' warmed with a fire of turf or brushwood previously made inside, and used as a cure for rheumatism.¹

¹ Such buildings have been so used quite recently at all events in other parts of Ireland. 'Turkish' baths are sometimes called "Römische-Irische Bäder" in Germany and Bohemia (see Wakeman, as above, pp. 37, 159). It seems unlikely that this name should

We are, of course, not bound to conclude that these houses formed the whole of the domestic buildings. There is ample space in the enclosure for others, which may probably have been of wood; it would be hardly more difficult to bring timber to Inismurray than to Hy or Iona, and we know that, whether or not the wattles and timber of which that monastery was originally built grew on the island itself, wattles were brought there by ship in the Saint's lifetime, and it was certainly repaired later on with timber towed to it by *curachs*.¹ The stone huts (or their predecessors) may conceivably have been inherited from the buildings which stood inside the cashel when it was still a fortress; but (as we saw in the last chapter) they may be of much later date. All we can say for certain is that the two oldest churches belong to a later or more advanced *stage* of architecture than the huts, and are probably the successors of others built of wattles or of boards. For of the many slabs incised with crosses, some at all events point to a very early date for the foundation of the monastery. Records, as usual, help us little. It is quite unknown who the Muiredach was from whom the island takes its name; St. Molaise, the patron saint of the island, who no doubt founded (or re-founded) the monastery, appears to have lived in the VI century. Tradition on the island also associates St. Columb with him in this work, and this is confirmed by the *Leachta Choluim-cille*, an altar or 'station,' in another part of Inismurray. Besides this, there is a *Reilig Odrain*, which preserves the name of a saint who is also commemorated by the cemetery on Iona and by the dedication of a church on Colonsay.¹ But if the foundation dates from the VI century, it does not follow that the buildings do. Some of them *may* be older, some appear certainly to be later—the churches of Iona and of Clonmacnois do not date from the time of St. Columb and of St. Ciaran. But to the question as to the age of such churches we shall have to return. In 807 Inismurray was burnt by the Danes³—a disaster which would necessarily involve some re-building.

Another most interesting example of the early monastery is given date from the time of the Irish missions to Germany and the foundation there of monasteries connected with Ireland; but it is hard to suggest a later contact between the two countries.

¹ See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i, 25; ii, 3; ii, 45.

² See Reeves, *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pp. 203, 204, 293, 294, 417. The story that St. Molaise ordered St. Columba to dwell in perpetual exile out of Ireland is, of course, well known. The account plainly will not do as it stands, for he returned more than once to his native country. Moreover, there were two St. Molaises—of Inismurray and of Devenish—and it is not certain to which the injunction should be ascribed. See Reeves, as above, pp. 252, 287.

³ *Annals of the Four Masters*, under 802; *Annals of Ulster*, under 806.

EILEAN NAOMH: KILN, CHURCH, MONASTERY, ABBOT'S HOUSE, AND HOSPITIUM (PP. 20, 21).
 (The harbour is to the right; the 'beehive' huts are beyond the kiln and to its right, over the ridge.)

by the stone huts and oratories on the Great Skellig,¹ an island half a mile long by a quarter of a mile broad and 700 feet high, off Bolus Head, near Valencia Island and Waterville. On a plateau are 'bee-hive' cells, the construction of which has been already described; here, though round or oval outside, they are made rectangular within, the wall being in some cases 6 feet thick. On the outside stones project; since the cells were probably covered outside with turf, these would tend to prevent this from slipping down, a network of ropes being no doubt fastened to them. The windows are sometimes broader outside than they are long, which is natural in this style of building. One of these cells has its lintel relieved above, like the doorway of Staigue Fort; and there are in one or more of them holes in the roof to let out smoke, cupboards formed in the wall, stone pegs, probably for hanging up book-satchels, and a covered drain leading out of the doorway (much like that inside the fort of Dunbeg). There is even the beginning of ornament, in the shape of a cross formed of five or six quartz stones built in over a door. There are also two oratories, of similar construction in general, but one of these is square in plan on the outside as well, the walls sloping in on all sides. The church is more recent, except the south wall, which was constructed, like the other buildings, without mortar. The whole is completed with burial-grounds—enclosed with stone walls, and hallowed with rough stone crosses having long upper limbs—and is surrounded by a cashel brought right up to the edge of the cliff; the face of it is sloped slightly inwards, and altogether it closely resembles the work in Staigue Fort, the larger stones having smaller ones fitted into their interstices with great skill, a favourite mode of building in Ireland. The foundation is attributed (but whether on any ancient authority is doubtful) to St. Finan the Leper, of the VI century.² A cell rounded outside and square within, and thus of similar construction to those just mentioned, also attributed to him, is to be seen on Church Island, in Lough Currane near Waterville. The monastery on the Skelligs was plundered by the Danes in A.D. 824.³ In this case the buildings seem to be more or less complete, and the original church may have been of stone, now represented by the dry-built south wall; it would plainly be a very difficult task to bring timber to the island and drag it up to the site of the monastery more than 500 feet above

¹ See Dunraven, as above, i, p. 30, etc.

² Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, quoting Smith's *History of Kerry*, says, "An Abbey was founded here by St. Finnian." In the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, the cell on Church Island is attributed to St. Finan Cam, who also lived in the VI century.

³ *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 823.

the sea. Possibly, however, the earliest monks or hermits may have been content with the oratories.

No apology is needed for grouping with these Irish monasteries an establishment on an island in the Sound of Lorn, close to that part of Scotland which was both colonized and christianized from Ireland, where the place-names continually recall Irish saints. On *Eilean Naomh*, one of the Garvelloch Islands, which are only a short distance by sea from Iona, are the wonderfully complete remains of a monastery which must have been one of the daughter-foundations of St. Columba's chief monastery—it may be “Hinba” (or “Himba”), or it may be “Elena insula”; there was such a foundation on each of those islands,¹ the former (at least) established in the Saint's lifetime, the other at all events not much later. Upon the side towards Mull the ‘Holy Island’ is precipitous, but towards its east side are breaks in the rocks, almost like railway cuttings; in and near the best of these small valleys (which has probably been improved by art) the main buildings of the monastery are placed. There are the walls of habitations, the whole, as well as the separate rooms, being rectangular in plan, and having plainly not been roofed with stone; divided from these by a small court or *platea*² is the church. There was a house on higher ground, adjoining the monastery and overlooking it, the court, the church, the way down to the harbour and the well—“St. Columba's Well”—this may probably have been the Abbot's House.³ A house at a little distance may have been the *hospitium*, or guest-house.⁴ There are some remains of a cashel or *vallum* of earth and stones, but where the ground drops to the little valley the boundary is formed by lining the bank (which had probably been scarped) with stone, like a stone-faced ditch. A little way off, outside the enclosure, is the kiln (for drying the corn before it was ground),⁵ wonderfully perfect, and almost fit for use; there is the place (like the hole for a copper) for the “wheel of wattles,” on which the ears were laid, with a sort of low door into this below for making and feeding the fire.

Beyond the monastery on the other side is an enclosure which was probably a garden, and beyond this again is the cemetery—the ground

¹ See Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, i, 21, 45; ii, 24 (and in other places); and ii, 18, with Reeves' note.

² Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, i, 50; iii, 6.

³ See Adamnan, as above, iii, 21, 22.

⁴ See Adamnan, as above, i, 31, 32, etc. It is *possible* that this was the Abbot's House and the one first mentioned the *hospitium*, or guest-house.

⁵ See Adamnan, as above, i, 45, and Reeves' note. On the plan for rebuilding the monastery of St. Gall, an Irish foundation, in about A.D. 829, a more or less similar building is depicted, and described as “locus ad torrendas annonas.”—Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, ii, between pp. 570 and 571.

by the church has also been so used, perhaps only or chiefly in later times; still higher up the valley are traces of furrows. The whole affords a wonderfully complete illustration of the life of an early Irish monastery, and of (at least) one plan of laying out its buildings. But, though it is all dry-built (except what is probably the Abbot's House, which has been built, or rebuilt, with mortar), one would hesitate to ascribe it to St. Columb's time. For it is quite certain that his foundation at Iona (though stone was ready to hand there) was built of wattles and of timber; it would not be much more difficult to bring wood from the mainland to the smaller 'Holy Island' (timber is now in those parts thus towed by boats in calm weather), and there are still a good many trees on the largest of the Garvelloch Islands, which is close by; further, the site of the monastery is very near the harbour; so that, though the arrangements fit those of the Saint's time precisely, it is more probable that the monastery, as it now stands, represents a very early rebuilding in stone of a still earlier wooden monastery.

Besides this, the buildings, so far as they have been mentioned hitherto, are not of the most primitive type. As regards the church, after what we have seen of the contrast between the churches and the other buildings on Inismurray and on the Skelligs, this is perhaps not surprising; but the other buildings too are rather early than primitive. There is, however, near the church an underground 'beehive' vault, about 5 ft. high, roofed with two large flags, and entered by a hole at the junction of the sides and the roof. It has a deep shelf in the side. And beyond the kiln, at a little distance from the monastery, enclosed by a similar stone-faced drop in the ground, is a pair of 'beehive' cells joined together; one of them is in ruins, while about half of the roof in the other is still standing, affording a fine opportunity for the study of 'beehive' construction. The huts communicated with each other by a doorway, and the larger one had its own doorway on the outside as well, the other having only a sort of hole near the ground. These were, no doubt, the *disert*, or hermitage of the monastery, and it is likely that one was the dwelling, the other the oratory. They certainly appear older than the rest of the buildings, and may well be actually so; but we have already seen that 'beehive' building extends over a long period, and it is of course possible that the rougher type may have been retained as being thought more suitable to a hermitage. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*¹ are two quotations from an old Irish poem, saying how St. Enda of Aran "loved a prison of hard narrow stone," and how "Molaise

¹ Todd and Reeves' edition, pp. 83 and 245. See also Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, p. 245. Thus at a much later time the hermit who lived in a cell at Fore was commonly called "the Holy Man in the Stone." (Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 135).

of the Lake loves to be in a prison of hard stone." Their retreat may rather have been such little cells as that which we have noticed near the church, in this case underground; but certainly any hut of the 'beehive' type would be less convenient and more ascetic than a house made of wood—the *normal* type of domestic building in Ireland down to the XII century and later.

On *Oilean tSenaig*, or Senach's Island, outside Tralee and Brandon Bays, there are the remains of a cashel, 18 feet thick (with a chamber in it), enclosing 'beehive' cells, as well as two oratories, or small churches, and a cross with a high top like those of the Skelligs. There are other establishments of the same character on the high rocky island, appropriately called *Ard-Oilean*, off the Connemara coast; at Inishglora, near Blacksod Bay; and on Bishop's Island off Kilkee; in the last case the wall of the 'beehive' cell diminishes in circumference towards the top by steps, or off-sets. And the establishment on *Eilean Naomh*, as one would expect from the close connection in early times between Ireland and the West of Scotland and its outlying islands, is not a solitary example in the parts just named. There are, for instance, at Loch Columcille, in Skye, the ruins of a cashel, 'beehive' cells, and of a church of later type (built with mortar) on what was once an island in a lake now drained; the foundation of this may probably belong to St. Columb's time. And there are on various remote islands off the west coast—on *Eilean Mor*, one of the Flannan Islands (west of Lewis), on North Rona¹ (north of the Butt of Lewis), and on the Sule Skerry, or *Sula Sgeir*, a few miles to the south-west of this little island—'beehive'-built oratories, square or rounded at the corners; the position of these islands is such that St. Columb's friends,² who in vain sought "a desert in the sea," must, one would think, have failed to find these sites, which should have satisfied the most exacting hermit. On the *Eilean Mor* off the Knapdale coast there is a rough uncemented building, 11 ft. square, "popularly believed to have been the cell erected by St. Charmaig directly after he landed on the island," while the church, as it stands, belongs to a far more advanced style of architecture, and is such as might have been built in the XII century; it was altered to some extent at a still later date.³

¹ The early cell has had attached to it a later building as a nave, but without altering the low flat-headed doorway and the rectangular window in the west end of the cell.

² See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i, 6, 20; ii, 42.

³ For these Scottish examples see Adamnan as above, i, 33; ii, 26, and Reeves' notes; Macculloch, *The Misty Isle of Skye*; Muir, *Ecclesiological Notes on some of the Islands of Scotland*, and *Characteristics of Old Church Architecture, etc., in the Mainland and Western Islands of Scotland*; Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.

ORATORY, KILMALKEDAR,
FROM THE NORTH
(PP. 23, 24, 28).

EAST END OF ORATORY AND
STONE ALTAR, KILMALKEDAR
(PP. 23, 24, 205).

ORATORY, KILMALKEDAR,
FROM THE NORTH-WEST
(PP. 23, 24, 28).

We have already noticed this natural tendency to bring the churches up to date, even when cells of the older style were retained.¹ But there are a good many instances of 'beehive'-built oratories or small churches. These are almost always rectangular, and it is an interesting question whether this shape is a later development, that is to say, whether the original Irish oratory was commonly round, as 'beehive' houses and the ancient Irish wooden houses usually (but not always) were. It is, for instance, probable that of the twin 'beehive' cells on the Holy Island in the Sound of Lorn one was the oratory. The fact that the end walls of the early square oratories slope inwards, as well as the side walls, seems consistent with their derivation from a circular 'beehive' shape; and such a change would be easily explained by the influence of the usual plan of chapels (except those which were sepulchral) in the rest of Christendom, an example which, however remote and dimly felt, would be constantly pulling in that direction, in spite of the occasional early round churches which occur, such as Sta. Costanza and St. Stefano Rotondo at Rome.² But such progress is impossible to prove without dates for the buildings, which we do not possess; it is also perhaps made less probable by the instances of cells (not oratories) which are rectangular in plan internally, such as those on the Skelligs and on Church Island in Lough Currane. What is probably more clearly indicated is the progress in making the oratories more symmetrical and shapely, and better built on the outside as well. Thus we have seen that one of the oratories on the Skelligs is rectangular externally; and we may now look at a few examples which seem more or less to mark this progress, from the instance just named, or from such an (externally) 'untidy-looking' building as that on the Sule Skerry, off the coast of Scotland, already mentioned.

The oratory at Kilmalkedar is a dry-stone building, oblong, both outside and inside. All its walls slope inwards, like the 'beehive' rooms in the walls of Staigue Fort. Its roof has now fallen; this seems to have formed internally a sort of ogee arch, though it was of course not a true arch at all. Larger hammer-dressed stones are used to form the corners. It has one square-headed window (which splays to the outside and to the inside from the middle of the wall) above the little

¹ One cannot be certain that these are always actually older (see pp. 11, 12, 21, 22), though in many, or most, cases they probably are so.

² See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, pp. 371-373. The statement that St. Patrick "established four-cornered churches" in a particular place, while it points to an early date for the rectangular church, certainly suggests that another shape was known in Ireland. Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, etc., i, p. 111.

altar of rough stone.¹ Its doorway narrows slightly towards the top, and altogether closely resembles those commonly found in the stone forts.

Nearer to Dingle is the oratory known to the Ordnance Survey as Templemanaghan, also named *Teampull Gel* (the 'White Church'), but now called on the spot *Teampull Mor*. This 'Great Church' measured 14 ft. 4 in. by 10 ft. 4 in. inside. It stands on the side of a hill, and its foundation on the lower side is sloped and carefully built up with great stones—one 3 ft. square—'spawled' or filled up with smaller ones. The walls are more than 4 ft. thick. It is more ruined than the oratory at Kilmalkedar, which it greatly resembles. Its doorway is now about 3 ft. high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. broad, narrowing towards the top, and some of the stones in this are very carefully dressed. Against its wall may be seen a very plain specimen of the Irish gable-ornament, something like a pair of wings set together—it would probably be used on their wooden churches as well. In the Book of Kells the gables of the Temple at Jerusalem are crowned by similar but more elaborate ornaments, and an ornament such as may conceivably have suggested it surmounts a tomb in Asia Minor of the third or fourth century A.D.² The Irish were, as we shall see, slow to part with this form of finial. To the west of the building is the grave of a St. Manchan, who may have built the church. It is a mound of a size fit for the burial of a giant, and at the head stands a stone inscribed with Ogham characters, having crosses cut on its east and west faces. There were formerly several small buildings, probably cells, surrounding the church; these, before Lord Dunraven's visit, had been pulled down by a Scotch tenant, except one very small hut or cell, roofed with a flag-stone.³

About a mile to the south-east of Kilmalkedar is the oratory of Gallarus, measuring 22 ft. by $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. on the outside, inside $15\frac{1}{4}$ ft. by 10 ft.; the roof outside is 16 ft. high; the walls are about 4 ft. thick at the level of the ground. This is altogether a more finished piece of work. It is built on a 'plinth' higher at the sides than at the west end—at the east end this is no doubt below the ground. Its stones are laid roughly in courses, and are beautifully dressed so as to shoot off the rain—providing for a continuous drip. It has the form of a pointed arch, both outside and inside (the end walls, too, converge a little); the sides curve inwards till they are only

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1893 ed.), p. 441. This ornament is certainly a form of *palmette*, but the chief or central part of it is very much like the Irish gable-ornament.

³ Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, p. 57.

EILEAN NAOMH: KILN

(P. 20).

TEMPLEMANAGHAN, FINIAL,
AND PILLAR-STONE

(PP. 24, 79).

ORATORY OF GALLARUS

(PP. 24, 25, 28).

a few inches apart, when they are closed in with stones laid across the top—it is not in the shape of an ogee arch; the roof is finished on the outside with triangular ridge-stones slightly rounded; in the easternmost of these the remains of a small cross stand in a socket. It has one window, in the east wall, much splayed on the inside and round-headed, but the arch is merely cut out of the stones—out of two on the outer and three on the inner face. The jambs of its doorway, which slope inwards (the opening being 2 ft. 4 in. broad at the bottom and 1 ft. 9½ in. at the top), are carefully squared. Two stones project into the building on each side of the door, pierced vertically with holes to which was attached a sort of shutter-door, to push up like a trap-door. From the east wall, higher up than the window, three stones, irregularly placed, project into the oratory. The walls are beautifully even within, and it is an admirable specimen of the style of building at its very best.¹

Kilmalkedar and the district in general are associated with St. Brendan, the founder of Clonfert, born near Tralee, who died at a great age in 577. But the name means 'the Cell (or church) of Maolcethair,' whose death and his connection with the place are attributed to the year 636.²

With round-headed windows and squared stone, even though no mortar is used, we seem to be getting to or beyond the borders of the primitive Irish architecture. Ireland, as we have seen, was long cut off, to a very large extent, from the general influence of Europe; but this isolation began to pass away before the end of the VI century. About 585 St. Columban went with his twelve companions (of whom St. Gall was one) to Gaul, preached in Burgundy and in what is now Switzerland, and founded the monastery of Luxeuil, and later on another at Bobbio in Italy. St. Gall, left behind in Switzerland, founded and governed the monastery called by his own name. In England, after 635, St. Aidan's Irish monks (for Hy or Iona was practically a part of Ireland) came in contact with old Roman buildings and with churches built in stone "after the Roman fashion" at York and at Lincoln.³ And

¹ For some other remains of churches in the district, see Appendix B, Some other Churches, or traces of them, in the West of the Dingle Peninsula.

² "636, May 14. Maolcethair, son of Ronan, son of the king of Uladh, of Cill Melchedair, near the shore of the sea, to the west of Brandon Hill. He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, monarch of Erin."—*Martyrology of Donegal*.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 14, 16. Somewhere about 710 "Naiton (Nechtan) rex Pictorum" in writing to Ceolfrid for arguments to be used on the questions of Easter and the correct tonsure against the Columbite clergy, "Architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui iuxta morem Romanorum ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent" (v. 21).

this renewed intercourse with England and with the Continent was made more easy as the Irish gave up the most prominent signs of their insularity—their different time for keeping Easter, inherited from earlier ages, and their different tonsure—a process which began about 630 in the south of Ireland and took somewhere about a century to complete. The Irish were enterprising travellers and ardent missionaries; their many monasteries abroad, in Germany and elsewhere, did not for a long time lose touch with Ireland, and it must be remembered that in those days every letter involved a personal messenger to take it. Then too foreign monks settled in Ireland, drawn there by the reputation of its monasteries for piety and learning, though, as a rule, we do not know at what precise dates—like the “VII Romani” commemorated on their tombstone in St. Breacan’s churchyard on the Aran Islands, and the many foreigners mentioned in the Litany of Oengus the Culdee, including more Romans, Italians, Gauls, Saxons (*i.e.* Englishmen) and “seven Egyptian monks.”¹ The intercourse of Ireland with England and with the Continent henceforth never ceased altogether, and is marked, among many other proofs, by the letter which Alcuin, the Northumbrian of York, ‘minister of education’ to Charlemagne, sent to Colcu or Colga, chief professor of the school or university of Clonmacnois, with presents from himself and his master (some of which were for the anchorites connected with the monastery) and requests for prayers.² It was therefore possible that at any time after about A.D. 600 the Irish should have presented to them the advantages of squaring stones and using mortar, and of such things as true arches and vaults.

But it does not follow that they would at once give up their native style in building stone churches, nor was the question of the style in which stone churches should be built a pressing one, since those built with that material were then rare exceptions. For not only before, but long after this time the vast majority of buildings in Ireland, including churches, were of wood. There is in the Dublin Museum a model of a small Irish hut, the original of which, admirably framed of oak and walled with oak boards, was found 25 ft. deep in a bog, and was believed to be 2,000 years old. The accounts of the earliest churches built by Irishmen describe them as of wattles, framed with poles and plastered, or of wood; indeed, it is almost entirely from existing remains, and not from written records, that we know of any other material being used in the primitive oratories or churches.³ Some of the early wooden churches

¹ See Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, i, p. 539.

² In Colgan, as above, i, pp. 379, 380.

³ See Reeves, *Adamnan’s Life of St. Columba*, ii, 3, 45, and notes; Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 85, etc., and quotations in both.

were doubtless of considerable size. The great hall of Tara was deserted in A.D. 563, and the lines of earth marking its site give support to the stories of its size; it is said to have been "ornamented, carved, and painted in colours." It is, of course, as easy to build a church of wood as a house or hall or barn; and, though it seems to us incorrect that a church should be built of anything but stone or brick, this prejudice is not even now universal; it does not exist, for instance, in Norway or Canada, or among missionaries in Central Africa and elsewhere; and a temporary wooden chapel has just been erected in connection with St. Chad's Hall at Durham. There is an account of what a large Irish church was like in a writing which probably dates from the IX century, a description of St. Bridget's Church at Kildare. It is obviously a building of considerable size, having a chancel boarded off, but connected with the body of the church by doors to the north and south, and has also a partition between these doors running down the church to the west end, and dividing the nuns and other women on the north from the men to the south. There are many windows, and an ornamented doorway; the chancel screen is painted and adorned with linen hangings, and there are paintings on the walls.¹ In 849, 260 persons were burnt in a wooden church;² this gives some notion of its size. The great Irish monastery of Iona was (as we have seen) originally built of timber and of wattles, and it was repaired with timber in the VII century—probably about the middle of it. So, too, the church erected at Lindisfarne about the middle of the VII century by Finan of Iona, though it was "fitting for the see of a bishop," was built "entirely in the Irish fashion, not of stone, but of cut oak, and thatched with reeds."³ And even in the XII century St. Malachy, in restoring the monastery of Bangor, Co. Down, finished the oratory "within a few days, of smoothed logs indeed, but fitly and strongly woven together, rather beautiful work in the Irish fashion" ("opus Scoticum pulcrum satis").⁴ St. Bernard, as one used to something better than that, shews a kindly toleration for such a style of building, of which in England the little church of Greenstead in Essex is one example; wooden towers are, of course, numerous. It is plain that stone churches in Ireland were for a long time most exceptional—the Irish, as opposed to the "Roman" fashion, was to build in wood. This, to any one who has examined the evidence, is quite beyond question.

Although the wooden churches of Ireland and most of those in England have passed away, it is in all probability largely due to their

¹ See Warren, as above, pp. 89, 90, and p. xiv.

² *Annals of Ulster*.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 25.

⁴ St. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachiae*, c. vi, § 14.

shape that apses were almost unknown across the Irish Channel and are rare in England. Whatever the usual shape of churches may have been in the II or III century of Christianity, the early chapels, at all events, often or usually had square east-ends, as is the case with the Papal crypt of the III century, and with the chapel in the old Lateran Palace at Rome, probably of the IV century, and in the Archbishop's Palace at Ravenna, of the V century or earlier.¹ The earliest wooden chapels or oratories of the missionaries to Ireland would be of this shape, often built with a pair of 'crucks' or bent timbers joined to form an inverted fork at either end of the building and united to each other by a ridge beam; they were walled with wattles or boards, and thatched with reeds, rushes, or straw. It may or may not be merely a coincidence that the oratories of Kilmalkedar and Gallarus are very much of this shape (they are also shaped like a well-constructed peat-stack). This was a common mode of building in early times, though round houses were exceedingly common in Ireland; but the rectangular shape became a national tradition there for churches, small or large; it must also be remembered that, in a wooden church, to attach an apse to the end involves considerable (though not insurmountable) difficulties in construction.² Abroad, though there is a very early square-ended church at D'jemila in Africa (having an enclosure at the end furthest from the entrance, somewhat as in the church at Kildare above mentioned) and another early example at Behiok in Central Syria,³ besides a certain number of instances in various parts of the continent of Europe, shewing perhaps a divergent early tradition, yet in general outside the British Isles the apsidal form prevailed. In England there was a long rivalry between the apse (derived from Italy) and the square-ended form of church introduced by the Irish missionaries. After these had existed side by side for centuries, the rectangular shape, reinforced by its use in Cistercian churches, was definitely adopted as the national type when, mainly in the XIII century, the rounded east-end existing in so many churches was removed on the extension of the chancels eastwards, and was not reproduced in the new building, as, but for the many square-ended examples and divergent local tradition, it probably might have been.⁴

¹ See Spence, *Early Christianity and Paganism*, p. 302, etc.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 342, etc., p. 372, etc.

² See Appendix C, Square-ended Chancels in England.

³ See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 366, and De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, p. 140, plate 138. In a good many cases, especially in the East, the apse is internal only, included in the walls; the plan being externally rectangular.

⁴ See Appendix C.

CHAPTER III

EARLY IRISH CHURCHES BUILT WITH MORTAR

IN the last chapter we saw (1) that the Irish constructed buildings of stone without mortar in very early times; (2) that they must, from the VII century at all events, have known of the more finished kind of building, founded on Greek and Roman architecture, which was practised elsewhere; but (3) that building in wood was the usual and national custom among the Irish then and for some centuries afterwards. We have now to consider a more advanced type of Irish stone church—different from the primitive buildings already described.

There are, no doubt, connecting links between the two classes of buildings; we noticed cut stone and a round-headed window in the dry-built oratory of Gallarus, which is in general of the primitive type; on the other hand the church on *Eilean Naomh* in the Sound of Lorn, which, with its upright walls, is a very simple specimen of the more advanced type, shews no trace of mortar; and there are other links to be found. But on the whole the stone churches already described stand in marked contrast to the early Irish churches which are built with mortar—not only in the point just mentioned. The ‘beehive’ church, chapel, or oratory, usually has walls of extraordinary thickness, sometimes of six feet and even more, but, except in the lintels and sometimes in the flags which complete the roof—where stones of some size are required—there is no marked preference generally shewn for very large stones; the walls slope (not with a slight ‘batter’) from the ground.¹ In the churches built with mortar, on the other hand, the walls are in general of more moderate thickness and nearly or quite upright; there is a distinct preference apparent in many buildings for using very large stones, at all events in a part of the wall; the arch appears, either a real radiated arch or its imitation cut out of one or more stones;² and in

¹ The sides of the larger church on *Oilean tSenaig*, or Senach's Island, had two offsets. The west wall is seven feet thick. See Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, pp. 37, 38.

² This is not necessarily a sign of great antiquity; in a small window it is a matter of obvious convenience. Heads cut out of a single stone are found in Saxon and Norman windows in England; e.g. at Maresfield, Sussex; at Shere in Surrey, where the heads of the tower windows are of considerable size; and in many other Norman windows: at

general the building is more shapely in appearance. In fact these churches are just in such a style of building as might be derived from some knowledge of Roman construction with specially Irish features worked into it. It would hardly be wrong to call the style 'Irish-Roman' or 'Hiberno-Roman' architecture, but that such a title might seem too pretentious for the small, simple buildings described.¹

It will be convenient first of all to consider this question: When did the Irish actually begin to use this acquired knowledge by building stone churches of a more advanced and less vernacular kind?

There are, of course, many such Irish churches whose style (and particularly, it is supposed, the size of the stones used in their construction) seems to indicate great antiquity; a very early date indeed—such as the V century—is in consequence often attributed to them. Moreover it is well known that the early and native way of naming churches in Ireland and Scotland was not after some saint or object of worship more or less arbitrarily selected, but after the founders—such names, for instance, as *Teampull Muire* (Mary's Church), *Teampull-na-Trinoite* (Trinity Church) at Glendalough shew foreign influence, they are non-existent—under those names—in the earlier records, while *Teampull Chaimhghin* (Kevin's Church), and *Teampull Kieran*, *Teampull Conor* at Clonmacnois, each called after its founder, whether cleric or layman, have names more in accordance with early Irish practice. This being the fact, it has often been assumed that the present buildings must (unless their character makes this obviously impossible) date back to the times of the men whose names they bear—that, for instance, St. Molaise, a saint of the VI century, built *Teampull Molaise* on Inismurray; that the older part of *Kill Enda* (not, of course, its Gothic doorway) on the Aran Islands dates from before St. Enda's death about A.D. 542.

But in Ireland as well as in England it is necessary to bear in mind

West Hampnett, near Chichester, there is an example in Saxon work. And if some of the Irish instances are larger than such as are most commonly to be found in England, this goes with the preference shewn in Ireland for using large stones—which lasts into the XII century—also perhaps with the long-continued use of the lintel there.

At Heysham, in Lancashire, a Saxon doorway of considerable size has each of its two faces cut out of two stones, which are arch-shaped, but not an arch constructionally—as in the small east window of the oratory at Gallarus.

¹ This does not, of course, exclude the probability that they were partly derived from later churches abroad built in imitation of Roman architecture. With Saxon architecture they agree in having windows with triangular heads or with round heads cut out of a single stone; in frequently using something more like a piece of entablature in place of a capital; in the occasional use of long-and-short work (which, however, in Ireland usually seems to be casually introduced); and, as we shall see, round towers were built in England before the Conquest. But in general the resemblance is not very close or striking.

"that the date of foundation only proves that there is nothing *earlier* than that date, and says nothing as to the date of the existing fabric, which may have been rebuilt half-a-dozen times."¹ Or, as Ledwich remarked more than a century ago, "hardly one of our ecclesiastical buildings are in their primitive state; for besides the injuries superinduced by time, the caprice of fashion adapted them to the taste of the times."² These are obvious common-sense principles. And, while the marks of such rebuilding are often visible in these churches—as in the very indisputable instance above mentioned—there is no reason why even the oldest part now existing in a church should not itself be a rebuilding of an earlier stone church, or of a wooden one. But, as we all know, there is a natural disposition in the human mind to exaggerate the antiquity of buildings as well as of institutions; we are not free from this in England, and in Ireland it is very marked. In the sister island the tendency was greatly strengthened by the work of Dr. George Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, published in 1845, which did so much to draw proper attention to Irish architecture, and in particular to dispel the mystery and the foolish and unfounded speculations which had gathered about the Round Towers. In dealing with these he is at his best, arguing mainly from ascertained facts; though here too the dates first assigned by him have had to be revised. But in his treatment of the churches which have a very antique appearance, though he is invariably ingenious, he is not equally convincing. He is indeed thoroughly successful in shewing that stone churches (doubtless built with mortar) existed in the IX and even towards the end of the VIII century; but the arguments by which he tries to connect these with earlier times, and also to prove that they are represented without very material difference by churches now existing, are rather plausible than either sound or cogent. The authorities which he quotes are often very far indeed from being contemporary; to take an extreme instance, few will now pay much regard to the mention of St. Patrick's stonemasons, with their names, in a poem of the XI century.³ And there is not unfrequently a curious looseness in his arguments; in estimating the age of a certain church at Armagh he reasons thus: "that this church also, if not a foundation of Patrick's time, was of a date not long subsequent to it, may fairly be inferred

¹ Parker, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland* in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1864, p. 6.

² Preface to Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. xi. The sense conveyed is more correct than its expression.

³ Pp. 141, 142.

from the early notice of its existence found in the 'Annals of Ulster'—this notice belongs to the year 915.¹ As regards any particular old church still existing which he mentions, the argument generally is that, if there are grounds for believing that a church was founded there at a very early date, and if its present representative looks very ancient (having, for instance, what is called 'Cyclopean' masonry), then the present church is the original one. The possibility (or probability) of its having been rebuilt without the fact being recorded is left out of account, or denied. The fact is that Petrie was arguing against unfounded fancies—that the Irish built no stone churches before the XII century, or that they were taught building in stone by the Danes, and so on; in combating these theories he sometimes went too far in other directions. He did a great work as an enthusiastic pioneer in the study of Irish architecture, and it was perhaps more than could be expected that he should at once reach true conclusions on all points—as he himself recognized. But further, even apart from the considerations mentioned above, and if his authority were accepted as decisive, yet to quote his book as the last word on the subject (which is frequently done) is like taking St. Augustine's opinions without regard to his "Retractations." For, though Dr. Petrie never adapted his book to his later opinions, there is, for all that, distinct documentary evidence of some modification in his views, which has been to a large extent ignored.

Among the *Archaeological Essays*, by Sir James Young Simpson, is one upon a stone-roofed building, of Irish type, still existing on Inchcolm, an island in the Firth of Forth; this paper was written in 1857. The author sent it to Dr. Petrie, and afterwards printed it with the annotations which he made. Thus (in a note on page 106), after stating that the cells or oratories were always regarded by the Irish as relics of the holy men who founded them, Dr. Petrie goes on to say:

And to this pious feeling we may ascribe the singular preservation to our own times of so many of such buildings—though, indeed, in many instances they may only retain the general form, or a portion of the walls, of the original structure, owing to the injuries inflicted by time, or, as more frequently, by foreign violence. Thus in the great Aran of the *Tiglach Enda*, or "House of Enda," a portion only—the east end—is of the Saint's time, the rest is some centuries later; and of St. Ciarn's oratory at Clonmacnoise, called in the *Irish Annals* "Temple Ciaron" or "Eaglais-beag," and sometimes "Temple-beg" or "The Little Church," though the original form was carefully preserved, there was,

¹ P. 158. There is a notice of a stone church at Armagh in the *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 839 (correctly 840), which Petrie quotes on p. 145.

TEAMPULL MOLAISE (EAST END), INISMURRAY (PP. 18, 30, 34, 38).

(This church has *antae* at the east end only.)

MASONRY AND DOORWAY OF CHURCH, INISMAIN (PP. 33, 106 *note*).

when I first examined it, more than forty years ago, apparently no portion of its masonry that was not obviously of much later times—in parts even as late as the seventeenth century. Our annalists record the names of Airchinneachs¹ of this oratory from 893 to 1097.

There is, so far as I can discover, no description (such, for instance, as that which we have of parts of Canterbury Cathedral) or other documentary evidence which unmistakably marks out any church or oratory now existing, or a portion of it, as of any very early date—the mention may be of their predecessors. And, though no doubt the general character of the stone-work would be a much surer guide than any details, which might well be added or altered in 'restoration,' the study of early Irish masonry forms by no means an exact science. Thus in the essay (by Miss Stokes) appended to Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, in the part referring to Irish Romanesque, we are told that:

There is a great variety in the appearance of the masonry in these churches, some presenting a much more massive or antique character than others. It must not therefore be concluded that they are older; for much depends on the nature and durability of the stone of which they are built, which, except in the case of the Saints' Church in Lough Corrib, is always the stone found in the neighbouring district. Sandstone is the material most commonly used. . . . Again, the primitive character of the masonry of Rahen small church is perhaps deceptive, for this church is built in a district where there is no sandstone at hand, but where limestone is the rock which abounds, and the walls are formed of huge boulders and rubble cemented with ordinary mortar. In some instances there is a combination of rough rubble masonry and ashlar work in the same building, and even in the same wall.²

The church on Inismain, an island in Lough Mask, also has masonry apparently of very early character, but there is every reason to believe that the whole of this very interesting building is, like its chancel arch, not earlier than the last years of the XII century. The church of Clonkeen, near Limerick, supplies a very similar example.

After this we shall not be surprised to see the opinion of Mr. Brash, a practical architect:³

From a personal examination of a great number of our primitive churches, it would appear that the differences in the masonry arose from the nature of the materials used, as well as from the local skill of the workmen, rather than from the prevalence of any particular manner or fashion in masonry.

The preference for large stones seems, more or less, to disappear after the XII century. But in general the character of the masonry

¹ Stewards, who managed its lands.

² Vol. ii, pp. 193-195.

³ *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 152, 153.

does appear to be largely dictated by the nature of the stone available; and it is interesting to trace in roadside walls and in modern buildings the various kinds of masonry which are used in the ancient churches. There is one rather striking kind—large irregularly rectangular blocks, not laid in courses, the intervals filled up with small stones—which is used in what is probably the oldest part of the Cathedral at Ardfert (there is something a good deal like it in the sacristy of the larger church at Rahan, as well as, in dry-built work, in Dun Aenghus), which has a fairly close counterpart in the wall of a cutting on the railway near Kingstown.

Of course it is possible, from the particular circumstances of the case combined with the character of the masonry, to identify portions of certain churches, for instance, of the Cathedrals at Ardmore and Ardfert, as belonging to an earlier stone building; but all that this proves is—in the cases referred to—that they are older than some date in the XII century; it cannot give us the exact period of their erection.

It may be thought that the progress in the use of mortar would form a more certain guide, proceeding from its first unskilful employment (in place of the dry-stone construction before described) to perfection. And on this point the essay appended to Lord Dunraven's work before referred to¹ says:

The cement of the earliest builders on the sea-coast often largely contained shells and sea-sand, while inland a compound of mud and gravel was used. In many cases the walls appear to have been first dry-built, and then this composition was poured in a liquid state to filtrate through from the top; later on the wall was well built with two faces and a rubble core grouted in a similar manner; while in the time of Cormac O'Cillen [about 950] we have the stones well bedded in good mortar.

So too Lord Dunraven says,² that in *Teampull Molaise*, which he thinks to be the oldest of the churches on Inismurray:

Very little cement was used; it was a sort of mixture of shell grouting and clay. I think it was merely grouted in the centre of the wall.

Thus the walls of the very ancient-looking church of Killelton, near Tralee, have very little mortar except towards their centre. And the church known as *Labba* (or *Leaba*) *Molaga* has little mortar at the east, though more at the west end, and what there is is very largely sand.

But though the character of the mortar and the way of using it

¹ Vol. ii, p. 144.

² Vol. i, p. 47.

PART OF TOMGRANEY CHURCH,
FROM THE SOUTH (PP. 37, 39,
207, 208).

WEST END OF TOMGRANEY
CHURCH (PP. 37, 39, 207, 208).

DOORWAY OF LABDA MOLAGA
(P. 37 ETC.).

WEST DOORWAY, CHANCEL ARCH, AND EAST WINDOW,
KILLINEY CHURCH (PP. 36 ETC., 44).

WEST DOORWAY, FORE CHURCH (PP. 38, 39, 75, 100).

WEST DOORWAY, KILLINEY CHURCH (P. 38).

WEST DOORWAY OF CHURCH, RAJASS (PP. 38, 39).

To face p. 34

might give a general indication of the age of a building, yet it is necessary to bear in mind that much may have happened to change or blur the evidence in something like a thousand years. The extent to which even fairly good mortar can be lost is very plain, for instance, by comparison of the western face of the Round Tower at Kildare with its eastern side,¹ and mere clay would of course be particularly liable to perish. Moreover, it is unlikely that any of these early buildings should not have been more or less repaired—in many cases they obviously have been. The natural need for repair, “owing to the injuries inflicted by time,” or from accident—through lightning, for instance—is of course considerable, and this necessity was greatly increased by “foreign”—and, unfortunately, not always foreign—“violence.” To give some idea of what amount of repair, or rebuilding, must have been necessary from these causes, it is recorded that the churches of Armagh were burnt (in whole or in part) in the years 840, 916, 996, 1020, 1074, 1093, besides later instances; that those at Glendalough suffered more or less injury from fire in 1017, 1020, 1061, 1071, 1084, 1163;² and these cases are not exceptional—the general view given by them is amply confirmed; Clonmacnois was “burned at least ten times between 719 and 1082, and twenty-six times from 841 to 1204.”³ So, too, in 1127 the northern Irish invaded Meath; Trim was burnt “with its churches; and a great number underwent violent death in them.”⁴ In 1143 Clonard, Kells, Trim, Dunshaughlin, were burned; “Cork was burned twice.”⁵ Now it is most improbable that those who repaired or rebuilt a church should have respected or intentionally reproduced the less perfect mode of building. Moreover, any such gradual progress in the use of mortar becomes less probable when we remember that there were, even before the earliest date ever assigned to cemented churches in Ireland, buildings already existing in Britain and on the Continent in which the use of mortar was fully developed. And it is likely that the varieties in this use to be found in Ireland are—in some cases at all events—like those in Irish masonry, due to “the local skill of the workmen,” and not to differences of date.

Of course, it is not impossible that there should have been a good number of churches built with stone and mortar at a very early date in

¹ Since wind and wet mostly come from the west. This suggests that the mortar has been renewed at *Labba Molaga* at the end where this was most needed.

² *Annals of Ulster*, and *Annals of the Four Masters*.

³ See *Clonmacnois, King's County*, extract from the seventy-fifth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works, Ireland, 1906, 1907.

⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, and *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁵ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

Ireland, even if we cannot shew that any now existing are, in their present shape, anything but 'restorations.' Still, proof of this, apart from such evidence as can be got from the buildings themselves, is, as has been above suggested, singularly deficient. The first definite authentic mention of a stone church that I know of belongs to the year 789, when a man was killed in a fight at Armagh "in the door of the stone oratory."¹ In 840 Armagh was burnt with its oratories and stone church.¹ In 920 "the stone church at *Cenannas* [Kells] was broken by Gentiles [Danes], and great numbers were martyred there. The stone church of Dulane was burned on the same day."¹ In 996 the stone church, or churches, of Armagh were burned by lightning.¹ It is unnecessary to add later instances. Doubtless the ravages of the Danes² tended on the whole to encourage the building of churches in stone. These might perhaps admit of some defence; at all events, though their roofs (if of wood) and their fittings might be burnt, they could not easily be wholly destroyed, like a wooden church.

And yet, besides such connecting links between the primitive and the later style as we noticed at the beginning of the chapter, there are certain marks of continuity which seem to make it probable that in some cases building in stone, with the addition of mortar, went on without any complete break from such structures as the oratories of Kilmalkedar and Gallarus and their predecessors, whatever the precise dates of these may be. We have already seen proofs that dry-stone building did not cease so early as is sometimes supposed. As regards the sloping jambs in the later stone buildings, their connection with the primitive Irish architecture is not altogether clear. The gateways of the forts, and the doorways of 'beehive' huts do not always slope, even in a small degree, while on the other hand such inclined jambs are a well-known feature in the larger Roman doorways,³ and it is certainly from classical architecture that the ornamentation of the Irish doorways seems for the most part to be derived—the inclined jambs in the later stone churches may probably be due to a convergence of the two influences. The stone roofs, however, of an improved kind, seem to be immediately derived from the type which we find in the oratories named above, and from still earlier architectural efforts. But the larger the number and the greater the

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, and *Annals of the Four Masters*.

² It has been suggested that they came, not as mere indifferent heathen plunderers, but with a special hatred for Christianity, and that this may have been due to Saxons who took refuge among them from forcible conversion by Charlemagne. But this seems very uncertain, and their rather rapid conversion to Christianity in England is against it.

³ See Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, article *Janua*; and Vitruvius, IV, 6.

importance of the buildings that are attributed to a very early date, the less becomes the probability of such dating in face of the evidence that the national custom of Ireland in early times was to build with wood. The oldest existing church (so far as I can discover) to which a date can be assigned with something like certainty is that at Tomgraney. In the *Chronicum Scotorum* we read that in the year 964 "Cormac Ua Cillin of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, comarb of Ciaran and Coman and comarb of Tuaim-greine, by whom the great church of Tuaim-greine and its *Cloigtech* [Round Tower] were constructed, a wise man and old and a bishop, fell asleep in Christ." The eastern part of the church shews a double re-building—the earlier certainly in the XII century; but the western part belongs, in all reasonable probability (so far as its main features are concerned), to the middle of the X century, in accordance with the notice quoted above.¹ The Round Tower has utterly vanished. It seems probable that the older part of St. Caimin's Church on Iniscealtra or Holy Island, in Lough Derg, was built somewhere about A.D. 1000, but this is a point which must be discussed later, in another connection.²

So much for the difficult question as to the precise date of the early Irish churches, obscured as it is by the scarcity or want of sure starting-points for argument from analogy, by the marked conservatism of Irish architecture, as well as by a certain fondness for copying classical models which comes out clearly and may be accounted for (partly, at all events) by the Irish connection with Northern Italy, as well as by the frequent pilgrimages of Irishmen to Rome; in Italy, as well as in Southern France, classical remains were, of course, far more numerous and far more complete nine hundred or a thousand years ago than they now are. We may now shortly describe the general features of these ancient churches.

The plan of such churches is rectangular, and they have no aisles. They are of small size: the nave of the Cathedral at Glendalough (forming, most probably, the original church) measures 48 ft. 6 in. by 30 ft.; but few of these buildings reach such dimensions—the internal measurement of the oratory of *Labba Molaga* is only 10 ft. by 7 ft. 2 in. The walls often stand upon a plinth (as at Gallarus). Very large stones are often used in them—for instance, in St. Mary's, Glendalough, and *Teampull Benin* on Aranmore.³ They have no side-buttresses, but at the east

¹ See Appendix D, Date of Tomgraney Church and of some others.

² See Chapter VII.

³ *Teampull Ceannanach* (on the Middle Island of Aran) has a block 18 ft. long and 3 ft. thick, which reaches across the whole external breadth of the church. See Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 189.

and west ends there are often what seem like prolongations of the walls for one or two feet beyond the building, as, for instance, in St. Caimin's Church on Iniscealtra or Holy Island, Lough Derg; at Ratass and *Labba Molaga*; in 'St. Declan's House' at Ardmore; and elsewhere. In the church on St. Macdara's Island, off Connemara, these run up the gable, but they are usually stopped just below it, and bear a strong resemblance to the *antae* of Roman, and still more of Greek, temples (the latter being without proper capitals or bases),¹ the resemblance to a classical model being carried further at the west end when, as is nearly always the case, there is a doorway there with inclined jambs, often surrounded by an 'architrave' of some kind. The doorways are a most striking feature of these early Irish churches. That at *Labba Molaga* is formed by two upright stones, which still remain standing, though the lintel was, most unfortunately, broken in two in 1903 by a tree falling on it and now lies in the doorway. This form seems to be a direct descendant of certain doorways in the dry-built cells and forts before mentioned; and the entrance to the enclosure of *Cladh-an-Disert* on Iona—which has now also lost its lintel—is of similar but rougher construction. In general, however, the jamb stones are laid horizontally, though there is occasional 'long-and-short' work in them. There is often a band or bands (an 'architrave') framing the door on the outside, and reaching down to the ground, as at Fore, Tomgraney, Ratass, and St. Mary's, Glendalough; at Killiney it is on the inside and above the doorway only; at Dulane "an architrave consisting of two incised parallel lines runs down the side of the jamb near the outer angle."² At St. Mary's Church, Glendalough, there is also a St. Andrew's cross cut on the under side of the lintel; at Killiney there is a plain Greek cross in relief in the same position; at Fore the cross within a circle upon a raised panel stands over the entrance;³ on the inside of this doorway further decoration has been begun but not completed, the lower half of the lintel has been hollowed and a circle roughed out in the middle of it. The doorway is nearly always at the west end, (at Disert Oengus, near Croom, which seems to be in the main a very ancient church, it was in the south wall); although, as has been said above, its form may be partly derived from native Irish examples, its simple

¹ See Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, article *Antae*; Vitruvius, III, 2.

² Dunraven, vol. i, p. 94. It is not a very striking feature, and may be the beginning of further ornament, unfinished. There is an unmistakable instance of unfinished decoration on the west doorway of Reefeart Church (see below) as well as at Fore.

³ This bears a very close resemblance to many of the crosses in Central Syria. See De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, especially plate 136. It is also common in France and Italy.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH (WEST END), GLENDALOUGH (PP. 38, 39, 107).

WEST END OF CATHEDRAL, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 37, 38, 42).

WEST DOORWAY, CHANCEL ARCH, AND EAST WINDOW,
REEFEART CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH (PP. 38, 39, 45).

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DOORWAY OF DULANE CHURCH, FROM INSIDE
(PP. 38, 39).

TEAMPULL MAC DUACH, ARANMORE, SHEWING CHANCEL
ARCH WITH IMPOST AND ANGLE-HEADED WINDOW
(PP. 39, 107).

WINDOWS IN NAVE OF ST. CAIMIN'S, INISCEALTRA
(PP. 39, 40).
(The round-headed window is later.)

TRINITY CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST
(PP. 39, 45, 46).

To face p. 38

decoration certainly seems to 'be due to the classical treatment of doorways similarly shaped. The stones which compose it, and especially the lintel, are very frequently most impressive from their size, as at Ratass and Dulane and Fore and Tomgraney.

Whatever may be the precise date of *Labba Molaga*, it is certainly a building of very early form, and it is interesting to notice that its doorway is not the only link between it and the branch establishment of the Irish Church at Iona. Its pilasters terminating the side walls have been already mentioned; it also has on its right-hand side a gravestone¹ which was raised a little above the ground. This is supposed to be, and probably is, the 'bed' or tomb of St. Molaga, who died somewhat later than A.D. 665,² though of course, as we have seen already, this does not necessarily prove that the building, as it exists at present, is of the VII century. Altogether, it and 'St. Declan's House' bear a very striking resemblance to the little church or oratory abutting on the west end of the cloisters at Iona, and materially support the claims of that building to contain on its south side the real grave of St. Columb, or at least of what was long ago reputed to be so. *Labba Molaga* is surrounded by a very perfect cashel, which also has within it the remains of other later ecclesiastical buildings. Sixty years ago the oratory was comparatively perfect. Inside it has been placed a cross of very ancient appearance.

These early churches sometimes had one window only—in the east end. Many of the windows are round-headed, the arch being cut out of a single stone. The east window at Killelton had a triangular head, the courses of rough masonry being cut to make that shape; in *Teampull Breacain* and *Teampull Mac Duach* on the largest of the Aran Islands the same shape is given by two flat stones set at an angle to form the head. At St. Caimin's, Iniscealtra, three stones form a triangular window. Windows with flat heads are not uncommon; there is an example in the church just mentioned; at Tomgraney the windows in the older part of the church are rectangular, and the same form, with the addition of a moulding, appears also in the later part of the building on the outside. In this church the sides are straight, but they nearly always incline, as in the doorways. The opening of the windows is generally, but not always, considerably splayed on the inside only; in some cases—as in the square-headed window just

¹ On this is some carving which looks like the foot of a cross. I could not trace it further up the stone. There was a window in the south as well as in the east wall, and a stone altar. See Dunraven, i, p. 62, etc.

² *Dict. Chr. Ant.*; Dunraven, i, p. 63.

mentioned at St. Caimin's and the east window of the church on Friars' Island, near Killaloe, as well as in the two older churches within the cashel on Inismurray—several little steps form the lower part of the splay. There is no sign of the use of glass in any of the early churches that I have seen; but this might, of course, be inserted in a wooden frame, though probably there was none.

The roofs were usually of timber, sometimes covered with wooden shingles, or with reeds or straw, or with lead; but some were of stone. The stone roofs usually, and sometimes other kinds, are of an extraordinarily steep pitch—for instance, the stone roof of 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, and the gables of the tiny *Teampull Benin* on the largest of the Aran Islands—and roofs with a similar pitch continued to be built in the XII century. As to the stone roofs, these were (as it appears) at first single only, built without any arch, the stones being merely carried through, dressed to the pitch of the roof inside and outside. This sort of construction is to be seen in the remains of the Saint's Well near Freshford (which was also crowned by the Irish gable-ornament already mentioned, with a carved human figure on it now nearly obliterated), but the outside of this is much ruined.¹ A far more perfect example is supplied by the chancel of the church near Killaloe just mentioned, which may have formed the whole of the original oratory, the nave and chancel arch having been added later. Here the roof is triangular inside as well as outside; it is of great thickness and enormous weight; in it is contained a little chamber or cupboard 2 ft. long by 15 in. broad, with a small opening to it below, and, in its present condition, a vent on the outside as well. This may have been used for securing valuable property—such as church plate—but it would also to some small extent lighten the roof, and may perhaps be considered as a sort of step to the perfect construction of the double stone roof, which involves the use of the arch.

The stone roofs of Ireland have been compared to those in Central Syria (described and illustrated in De Vogüé's *Syrie Centrale*), which are at all events earlier than A.D. 634. But the construction of the eastern examples is (except in the pyramidal roofs crowning tombs) not very similar, and they are at least not double.

¹ It appears to have had sides sloping up outside as well, before the cut stones were carried off about a century ago; it would thus be something like a Gallarus built with mortar, supplying another link with the primitive architecture. Lord Dunraven (i, 126, etc.) gives the name as *Tobar na Dru*, 'the Druid's Well'—the Rev. W. Carrigan as *Thubber a droo* (so now pronounced)—'the Well of the Hermit.' See *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, p. 327.

TEAMPULL BENIN, ARANMORE (PP. 37, 40).

CHANCEL ARCH OF CHURCH ON FRIARS' ISLAND,
KILLALOE (P. 46).

CHANCEL ARCH AND EAST WINDOW OF CHURCH ON
FRIARS' ISLAND, KILLALOE (PP. 40, 46).

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FINIAL OF THE SAINT'S WELL NEAR
FRESHFORD (P. 40).

ROUGH VAULT (XIII CENTURY) OVER TRANSEPT
CHAPEL, HORE ABBEY (P. 41).

'ST. COLUMBA'S HOUSE,' KELLS (P. 41 ETC., 208).

CROFT OF 'ST. COLUMBA'S HOUSE,' KELLS, LOOKING
THROUGH ARCH TO TRAP-DOOR (PP. 41 ETC., 208).

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Of the double stone roof the building called 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, Co. Meath, affords a very interesting example. Its length (internally) is 19 ft. with a breadth of 15 ft. 5 in.; it is 38 ft. high to the ridge of the roof. The walls are nearly 4 ft. thick, and the crown of the vault is 23 ft. above the floor. The building had three stories, a wooden floor dividing the two lower ones. This is now gone, but its place is marked by a recess in the wall and by the original entrance, which was in the west wall, opening on to the first floor. The whole would form a complete monastic establishment on a small scale. The ground floor was in all probability the chapel; the altar appears to have been away from the wall towards the middle of the floor; there are recessed seats (for the principal and assistant priest) in the west wall. The first floor, covered by the barrel vault, would be the refectory and living room; and the uppermost story, between the vault and the outer roof, was, no doubt, the dormitory.¹

This vault is of a kind which continued to be built without any important change at least down to the XV or XVI century in Ireland (though it is not confined to that country),² and it was in general constructed as follows: A centering of the required shape was made of stones, or earth, or both—or of timber—and was covered with wattles, giving the shape of arch required; on these a layer of mortar was often put. Upon this temporary support more or less wedge-shaped or merely flattish stones—roughly shaped, perhaps, but not cut—were laid edge downwards, lengthwise to the building, smaller stones being inserted into the intervals, where necessary, so as to jam these and give the required radiation, though the sides are often (as in the sacristy attached to 'St. Kevin's House,' Glendalough) merely corbelled out for some distance up, like a 'beehive' roof—or the *tas-de-charge* in Gothic groining. Upon the vault thus formed half-liquid mortar was poured until the gaps between the stones were filled. If this mortar was good, as it generally was, the result would be a sort of solid concrete arch; and even if the cement perished to some extent, the construction was generally sound enough to hold up the vault, though a few of the smaller stones might drop through from time to time. The sides were then filled up so as to make a flat floor above; at the same time, by thus weighting the sides of the vaulting, its outward thrust was counteracted. In fact, such barrel vaults exert very little thrust; if the mortar is good (as was usually the case) the vault is more like

¹ See Dunraven, ii, p. 50, etc.

² It is much used, for instance, in the Bishop's Palace at St. David's, and it is to be found also in the ruined priory at Haverfordwest.

a great rounded lintel of concrete—many of the vaults so built in Ireland are but slightly curved. Lastly, the propping was removed, and the wattles broken or burnt away; the marks of them are very often visible in the mortar upon the under surface of the vault. Above such a vault as this the high-pitched roof was built, the stones being wrought to something like the proper shape and, as a rule, simply laid one above another in mortar, like a piece of wall, not with slabs on the outside, as in Cormac's Chapel; it was closed at the top on the inside with flags, and the ridge of the roof was completed outside. This is very much like the roof of the oratory at Gallarus, though, of course, the use of mortar gives greater stability with a smaller quantity of material. At Kells this stability is further secured by carrying two walls across the top story, supporting the outer roof; these are pierced in the centre by low doorways with inclined sides, which are finished above with rough but true arches. Thus the croft, which is more than 6 ft. high in the centre, is divided into three little rooms, of not quite equal length but averaging 5 ft., and is lighted on the east by a square-headed window with inclined sides, and at the west end by two openings irregularly shaped. Beneath these is a trap doorway, built of large stones, opening through the vault, to be reached by a ladder from the first floor.

What was the history of Kells as an ecclesiastical establishment before the beginning of the IX century (if it had one at all) is by no means clear. At that time the monks of Iona found by bitter experience that their island was terribly exposed to Danish raids, and planned to transfer the chief seat of their order to a safer place. In 804 we read of "the giving of *Cenannas* [Kells] without battle to Colum-Cille the musical"¹; in 807 of "the building of the new 'city' of Columcille at *Ceninnus*"; and in 814 that the church there was completed. It is contended that 'St. Columba's House' was a part of the buildings then erected, but there are no means of proving that it was built just at that time.²

'St. Kevin's House' (or 'St. Kevin's Kitchen,' as it is sometimes called) at Glendalough is a building similar in general plan; it has a high stone roof above, a barrel-vault below, and a croft between these reached through a hole in the vault; there was a lower story of wood below the vault, at the west end only; but there are no cross-walls in the croft, and the entrance was on the ground floor—a square-headed doorway with a relieving arch above the lintel, as in the Cathedral close by.

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, under the year 803.

² See Appendix D, Date of Tomgraney Church and of some others.

WEST DOORWAY OF 'ST. KEVIN'S HOUSE,'
GLENDALOUGH (PP. 42 ETC., 107).

'ST. KEVIN'S HOUSE,' GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 42 ETC., 107).

CHANCEL ARCH FROM AISLE, KILLINEY CHURCH
(PP. 44, 182).

CHURCH, SACRISTY, AND CASTLE, DUNMOE (P. 43).

To face p. 42

The door was probably hung like a shutter outside; there were two holes made in the lintel (which projects 6 in.) for hanging it, and a hole in the flag below for fixing it. We have already seen that there is a similar arrangement, but on the inside of the doorway, at Gallarus. The building has a squared string-course marking the point where the roof springs from the walls. There is something similar in the 'bee-hive' cell, now turned into a tool-house, at Kilmalkedar, as well as on the west end of St. Mary's Church at Glendalough. 'St. Kevin's House' had two windows, one above the other, in the east wall (besides that which lights the croft); the upper one is a square-headed slit, the lower one was round-headed; the large window in the south wall was quite a modern alteration. It has been thought that parts of the lower masonry are the remains of a still earlier building. To the 'House' or oratory a stone-roofed chancel was added (the spring of its barrel-vault is still very plainly to be seen), the east wall being simply cut through so as to form a semicircular-headed opening, though no real arch was constructed there. This destroyed the lower part of one of the east windows, and the top of it was then filled up. On the north side of the chancel was built a stone-roofed sacristy, which still remains, though the chancel was destroyed early in the last century; neither of these has been bonded into the older building.

A sacristy (called in Irish *erdam*, *irdom*, that is to say, 'side-house') was in many cases attached to Irish churches from very early times. One is mentioned, under the description of *exedra, quae oratorii adhaerebat parieti* and of *exedriolae separatim conclave*, in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*,¹ as existing at Iona in the Saint's lifetime—that is, by A.D. 597. "The great gospel of Columcille [the Book of Kells] was stolen at night from the western sacristy of the great church of *Cenannus*" in A.D. 1006.² Such sacristies continued to be built, and there are a good many examples remaining in Ireland, of various dates; they are often set at right angles to the church, on one side or the other, like a transept, constructed of stone, and frequently roofed with the same material—such as that attached to the chancel at Clonfert, to one of the churches at Lorrha, near Portumna, to the little church adjoining Dunmoe Castle, between Navan and Slane (this sacristy, most exceptionally, has a crypt underneath), as well as at Clonmacnois, on the south side of the Cathedral, where, above the stone vault, there are domestic buildings with a conspicuous chimney—these are of Gothic character, but it is probable that an earlier structure is included, or at least represented;

¹ III, 19.

² *Annals of the Four Masters*.

this church would doubtless possess a sacristy from the first. The Romanesque church at Monaincha also has a sacristy with a barrel-vault, above which there was a room.

To 'St. Kevin's House' a Round Tower of different masonry has been added, crowning its west end. The cap of this reaches a height of 40 ft. from the ground. There are three holes in the vault below it for bell ropes, and windows to let out the sound. The name of the building suggests that it represents (or was held to represent) the original cell, or oratory, of the Saint, like 'St. Declan's House' at Ardmore.

There are a good many later examples of the double stone roof in Ireland. About these something will be said presently. It is probably an Irish invention—a very successful combination of the true arch or vault, learnt from abroad, with the native stone roof. The very high pitch of the roof (about 65°) may have been intended to give dignity to these buildings, but it is safer construction as well, and certainly tends to keep them dry—the bedding of the stones at an angle and avoiding continuity in their joints serve the same end.

It appears to be practically certain that the Irish had begun to build stone churches with mortar before structural chancels had been acclimatized in Ireland. One instance of a chancel being added to an older building has just been mentioned. The Cathedral at Glendalough supplies another—the chancel is not only of different masonry from the nave, but is not bonded into it. The chancel of St. Caimin's Church, Iniscealtra, is clearly much later than its nave.¹ And to many churches no chancel was ever added. Probably the most important of these is the Cathedral at Clonmacnois, which, with all the alterations which it has undergone, has never had a chancel, except such as was made by groining over the east end in the XV century. On the other hand, some quite small churches were provided with one. A tiny church close to 'St. Kevin's House' has a chancel measuring 9 ft. 7 in. by 8 ft. 8 in. on the inside.² But, though chancels came in later than stone churches built with mortar, there had been no very marked change of style in the meantime. The square-headed east window and west doorway and the chancel arch, with inclined sides, at Killiney all have a very primitive appearance. The chancel of *Teampull Muire* at Glendalough (though

¹ In these two churches the details of the chancels are Irish Romanesque; but it is of course *possible* that chancels already existing may have been more or less completely rebuilt.

² This appears to belong to the style which is being described, so far as its remains allow one to judge.

it has undergone some later changes of detail) is bonded into the nave, and is probably contemporary with it. Trinity Church,¹ Glendalough, built of mica-slate with blocks of granite in its walls and granite quoins, and with a perfectly plain arch of squared granite on the two faces and rubble between, has a triangular-headed window in the south side of the chancel, and its original west door, square-headed, with inclined jambs, is much like that at Dulane. A Round Tower standing upon a square base and over a barrel-vault was a later addition to its west end. This church is particularly impressive from its excellent construction and its massive simplicity. It has no ornament (unless a plain horizontal drip-stone over the east window can be considered such), and looks much like Roman work, built for practical purposes. So, too, the arches of the gateway to the monastic precincts of Glendalough² bear (as Petrie noticed) a strong resemblance to the Roman gate at Lincoln. (The outer arch has *antae* on each side of it, like a church door.) Reefeart Church, a little way up the valley, is striking in a similar way.³ Like the entrance to the monastery, it needed some rebuilding (out of the original stones) in the latter part of the last century.⁴ The ornament round its square-headed west doorway has never been completed. Reefeart was, as the name implies, a royal burial-place, but its churchyard has not now the reputation for sanctity which centres round the Cathedral of Glendalough, and crowds the ground there (as at Clonmacnois) with modern graves; consequently very many of its crosses and gravestones have been preserved more or less in their original position, as is the case too in a cemetery on Iniscealtra. Some date like the XI century seems to fit Reefeart and Trinity Church;⁵ they shew thoroughly workmanlike construction in stone, but not a trace of Norman influence. However, this is perhaps assuming an answer to

¹ It is possible that it was at an earlier time called 'St. Mochuarog's'; Dunraven, as above, i, pp. 100, 101.

² These supported a tower, part of which was still standing in 1795. See Fisher's *Scenery of Ireland*.

³ The dimensions (internally) of these two churches are: Trinity Church, nave 29 ft. 6 in. by 17 ft. 5 in.; chancel 13 ft. 6 in. by 9 ft. 2 in.; thickness of wall, nave 2 ft. 7 in., chancel 2 ft. 10 in.; the wall of the annexe on the west which carried the Round Tower is 3 ft. 1½ in. thick; height of walls to top of bracket (see below), nave 9 ft. 1½ in.; chancel, 7 ft. 3 in., from present level of churchyard.

Reefeart Church, nave 29 ft. 6 in. by 17 ft. 6 in., chancel 13 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. ½ in.; height of wall to top of chancel bracket (as set at present) 7 ft. 4 in.

It will be seen how closely the dimensions coincide.

⁴ See Appendix E, Restorations at Glendalough.

⁵ See Parker, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine of March*, 1864, p. 294.

the question as to the date of Irish Romanesque—on which something must be said presently—and there appear, in any case, to be no means of fixing their date with certainty.

The arches mentioned so far are not only perfectly plain, but do not spring from capitals or from imposts.

On Trinity and Reefeart Churches the brackets attached at their corners, in pairs facing east and west respectively, form a conspicuous feature. These are obviously intended to carry the projecting wooden roof, so as to protect the walls from the drip, like the rough stones jutting out in a similar position from the south transept, of Saxon work, at Breamore, north of Fordingbridge in Hampshire. Such brackets or corbels, though they must in many cases have been lost, are by no means uncommon in Ireland. An elaborate example, of Romanesque character, occurs on Melaghlin's Church at Clonmacnois. It seems likely that the *antae* were used for a similar purpose; and where these are continued up the line of the gable (as at the west end of St. MacDara's Church, on an island off the coast of Connemara, and—formerly—of 'St. Molaise's House,' Devenish Island, which are in connection with stone roofs) the protection of the wall from drip was similarly attained. At the east end of the Romanesque chancel of Kilmalkedar Church there are no *antae*, but the square projection (or 'barge-course') running up the gable rests on the string-course; this makes it an almost exact counterpart in stone of the projecting wooden roof resting on brackets. The east window of Trinity Church has (as above mentioned) a short, straight length of rough string-course just above it for a drip-stone.

The arches often have a rather loose connection with the wall which they support. In the small church on Friars' Island, near Killaloe, the little chancel arch is greatly set back from the jambs. This form of arch is used as the frame or niche to a picture, probably of an Evangelist, in the Book of Kells, and it may have been copied by the architect from this or some similar MS. Few will consider the building to be the prototype of the drawing. There are architectural ornaments in the Book of Kells which have no counterpart in actual Irish architecture—notably, one shewing the sort of squared flower-pot above the capital, which is really a fragment of entablature (something like that which Caryatides support), though it looks like an extra capital. This occurs, for instance, in the churches of Central Syria (illustrated by De Vogüé) and in the church of St. Lawrence, outside the walls of Rome, but there seems to be nothing like it in Irish architecture, which, even in its Romanesque period, only with difficulty reconciled itself to having even a single distinct capital to a column.

GATEWAY TO PRECINCTS, GLENDALOUGH (P. 45).

CHANCEL ARCH OF TRINITY CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 45, 46).

REEFEART CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH: INTERIOR
(PP. 45, 46).

REEFEART CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH, FROM THE
SOUTH-EAST (PP. 45, 46, 94).

To face p. 46

The stone churches of Ireland (before Romanesque influence comes in) are, as a rule, exceedingly plain. But it must be remembered that what is left of them is like a ruined and deserted house, which naturally seems plain and bare; that, though there is little carving of the stonework, the decoration may have been, and doubtless often was, supplied by woodwork, painted, and by hangings (as in the wooden church of which we have a description¹) no doubt shewing the beautiful Irish ornamentation to be seen in the MSS. and elsewhere—not to speak of the metal work, such as chalices, reliquaries, book-shrines, and bell-shrines, some specimens of which may be seen in the Dublin Museum.² There remain, however, some few churches in which more decoration of the stonework was attempted. But it seems certain that early Irish stone-carving was worked out and developed chiefly on gravestones and Standing Crosses; something should therefore first be said about these. At the same time we have now reached the period when the first Round Towers were built; and these have, in a variety of ways, affinities with the churches mentioned in this chapter. It will therefore probably be best to say something of these Towers first; then to sketch the history of Irish ornament and of the early Irish stone-carving. After this we can return to the ornamentation which is to be found on certain churches (some of which at least appear to come late in the style), and then try to fix the character of a few churches which might appear to hold an ambiguous position between this style and the Irish Romanesque, noticing also certain other buildings, which seem to belong to—or to reproduce—the earlier style. After this we can discuss Irish Romanesque architecture, its date and characteristics, and thenceforth, having a sufficiency of fixed dates as landmarks, we can proceed without any serious interruption through the remaining periods of Irish ecclesiastical architecture.

¹ See p. 27.

² See, for instance, the list of what was stolen from the altar at Clonmacnois in 1129. These were a model of the Temple of Solomon, a standing cup, "a silver goblet, a silver cup with a gold cross over it, a drinking-horn with gold," another drinking-horn, "a silver chalice with a burnishing of gold upon it," and another silver cup; these had been offered by various kings and princes and the Archbishop of Armagh.—*Annals of the Four Masters* and *Annals of Clonmacnois*.

CHAPTER IV

ROUND TOWERS

THE Irish Round Tower has the general appearance of a lighthouse. Its height varies from 50 to 125 feet, and it is—at the ground level—from 40 to 60 feet in circumference. It generally rises from a plinth, which is sometimes double or triple; though the Tower at Clondalkin stands upon a projecting base of masonry 13 feet high. The greatest thickness of its walls is usually from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet; they become thinner towards the top as the Tower diminishes in breadth. Its doorway is nearly always elevated above the ground, the diameter of the Tower inside at this point being from 7 to 9 feet, or sometimes more. It has four or (usually) more stories, which are indicated inside by off-sets, corbels, or holes for joists, the floors having been nearly always, and the connection between them invariably, constructed of wood. Also on the inside wall (above the lowest story) projecting stones are often inserted, and at Lusk one of these is like a large hook, while at Disert Oengus, near Croom, there are holes apparently for pegs; all these were probably for hanging up books in satchels and other valuables. There is nearly always one window to each story, except the top one; this generally has four, which often, but not in all cases, face the cardinal points. The doorway is either flat-headed or semicircular; the windows have flat, round, or triangular heads, but what is a semicircular head outside is sometimes square inside, and a head triangular externally may internally be semicircular or square. The openings mostly have jambs more or less inclined, but are usually not splayed. The Tower should end in a conical stone roof, but for this, in much later times, battlements have in some cases been substituted, and in very many instances the top part is (or has been) ruined; at Donaghmore (near Navan) it has been imperfectly restored. The great majority of the Towers do not form part of any other building. (The various points in which they shew a resemblance to the buildings described in Chapter III will be obvious.)

These Round Towers were, beyond almost all ancient monuments, a subject around which the antiquarian imagination played with irresponsible exuberance, until it was checked by Petrie's more rational

ROUND TOWER AND CHURCH, DONAGHMORE (P. 48 ETC.).

LOWER PART OF ROUND TOWER, CLONDALKIN (P. 48).

LOWER PART OF ROUND TOWER, ANTRIM
(PP. 49 ETC., 57).

To face p. 48

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stical Architecture of Ireland; Lord Dunraven, *Notes on*
Miss Margaret Stokes; Miss Margaret Stokes, *Early*

I, ix.

² See Dunraven (as above), ii, p. 2.

investigation. They were of enormous antiquity, and therefore Pagan. They were tombs; they were fire-temples, of Persian origin; they were Buddhist temples; they were temples of Vesta; they were copied from the Phoenicians; they were astronomical observatories, or minarets from which to proclaim Druidical festivals. Or, they were first built by the Danes; they were intended for anchorite pillars, like that of St. Simeon Stylites, or for penitential prisons. These various theories were supported by unfounded assumptions, mis-translation or false etymology, misquotation of existing and quotation of non-existent works. And along with these the true history of them appeared—in fragments.

After the work of Dr. Petrie in clearing away the rubbish and establishing a sound theory of the Towers, and of Lord Dunraven and Miss Stokes in strengthening this further,¹ while they supplied the necessary modification to the very early limit of date supposed by Petrie, it might well be thought superfluous, so far as the main conclusions are concerned, to do more than to re-state and illustrate these. But there is a considerable number even of well-educated people who still think that some mystery hangs about these Towers—that there may be something in the old speculations after all. I even saw a few years ago a letter, printed in a leading London newspaper, which founded some argument or other against Christianity on one of the wilder theories regarding Irish Round Towers, as if it were accepted fact. It seems therefore better shortly to state some of the reasons which prove the rational view, as well as the conclusions themselves.

(1) These “narrow, high, and also round” towers were “ecclesiastical,” as ‘Gerald the Welshman,’ at the end of the XII century, calls them;² they have, or have had, invariably a church or churches near them. ‘The (apparent) exception proves the rule,’ for, where there is now no church near, there are proofs of its former presence—as at Antrim, in the recorded statements of those who cleared away the last remains of the church, and in the human bones found at its base.³ Nor can they have belonged to Pagan cemeteries, subsequently adopted by Christians. For the Irish seldom (at all events) continued to use the Pagan burial-grounds; a sharp distinction is drawn between Christian burial and the ‘cemeteries of the idolators’ in old Irish writings, and there are no Round Towers connected with the great Pagan cemeteries. At Kilkenny the Tower was found to stand over some graves, the skeletons

¹ See Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*; Lord Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture* (edited by Miss Margaret Stokes); Miss Margaret Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*.

² *Topographia Hibernica*, II, ix.

³ See Dunraven (as above), ii, p. 2.

in which lay with feet to the east;¹ from the yielding of this insecure foundation the top of the tapering Tower actually overhangs the base at this point. Further, the door of the Round Tower nearly always points to the door of the church, or one of the churches, from near by—at Kilkenny, where the door of the Tower looks away from the Cathedral, that church is of later date, and has no doubt superseded a group of churches on the hill. Usually, therefore, the Tower is west of the church, frequently to the north-west—perhaps in order to leave more room for burial in the more favoured quarters of the churchyard—but sometimes it stands to the south-west, as at St. Caimin's, Inis-cealtra.

(2) The Round Towers were for defence—refuges into which the monks or clergy might flee, taking with them their books, relics, and church plate. This conclusion is suggested by their position with reference to the church door. It is clinched by the facts that the doorway is almost always raised above the ground, usually to a height of from 6 to 15 ft., and that many of the Towers shew signs of having had double doors and secure fastenings for them. In or about the year 1838 Dr. O'Donovan was told by an old man living on the shores of Lough Derg, near Inisceiltra or Holy Island, that he had seen an iron door in the entrance to the Round Tower there. And traces of its fastenings and fittings were then still visible, as the fastenings of doors still are, or were until recently, in the Towers at Kilkenny and Ferta.² The windows also (though the limitation of their number tends to the safety of a party attacking) are almost always near the level of the former wooden floors, which would be convenient for dropping stones or shooting arrows upon the besiegers. And a good many of the Towers have a large opening just over the doorway, as at Swords, near Dublin, or a little to one side, as at Antrim and Roscrea, doubtless for a similar purpose, like the 'machicollations' and other contrivances defending the entrance to the later castles; persons trying to force the church door would also (in most cases) be exposed to the arrows shot from this opening, and from the doorway. On the other hand the amount of inflammable woodwork inside the Tower was a very serious weakness, and in very few cases was there an attempt made to reduce this by building floors of stone. In A.D. 950 "The belfry of Slane was burned by the Foreigners of Athcliath. The crozier of the patron saint, and a bell that was the best of bells, and Caenechair,

¹ Graves and Prim, *The History and Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral*, p. 114, etc.

² Dunraven, as above, ii, p. 5.

ROUND TOWER AND PART OF CATHEDRAL, KILKENNY,
FROM THE SOUTH (PP. 49 ETC., 139).

CHURCH AND REMAINS OF ROUND TOWER, AGHADOE
(P. 49 ETC.).

WEST CROSS AND 'O'RORKE'S TOWER,'
CLONMACNOIS (PP. 51, 57, 94).

DOORWAY OF ROUND TOWER, MONASTERBOICE
(PP. 51, 59).

the lector, and a multitude along with him, were burned.”¹ Traces of such burning still remain in some cases; a quantity of charcoal mixed with burnt bones was found in the basement of the Tower at Kilkenny;² in 1156 “Eochaidh Ua Cuinn, the Chief Master, was burnt in the *cloictheach* of Fearta,” in a raid,³ and “the Round Tower . . . of Ferta, situate about 12 miles north of Kilkenny, is split, as by fire, from top to bottom, thus affording a singular confirmation of the Annals.”⁴ Often, however, the burning of the woodwork would no doubt leave the thick stone walls more or less completely intact, as has apparently been the case at Monasterboice, where, in 1097, “the belfry . . . with its books and many treasures was burned.”⁵ There is plenty of evidence to shew that these Towers were used as places of refuge—sometimes unsuccessfully.

(3) Another use of these Towers is indicated in a quotation given above, and in an entry under the year 1020: “Ard-Macha was all burned, viz., the great Damliac [stone-church], with its roof of lead, and the *cloicthech* with its bells,” etc.⁶ These Towers are now always (in Irish) called by this term, which means ‘bell-house.’ And (if it is contended that this name has only been applied to them in later times) ‘bell-houses’ are frequently mentioned in the Irish Annals, there are no other early buildings to which the name can possibly apply except towers, and of these there are (I believe) none of early date which are not round, “according to the custom of the country,” except perhaps the square tower attached to a church on Inislaraun, an island in Lough Ree. Further, these towers, with their openings at the top, are adapted to this purpose—a dinner-bell rung at the top of Clondalkin Round Tower was heard a hundred feet off as if it had been rung close by on a level ground.⁷

(4) That they were used for watch-towers was the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc,⁸ and this is, of course, a natural use for them; on account of their height they command a wide view, even overtopping the smaller rises of ground. This is very markedly the case at Clonmacnois; ‘O’Rourke’s Tower,’ since its repair after the lightning knocked off its head in 1135 (and without its cap) is one of the lowest, only 62 ft. high, yet it is visible not only for a long way over the country on the right bank of the Shannon, and up and down the river, but for some distance also

¹ *Annals of Ulster*.

² Graves and Prim, *History and Antiquities of St. Canice’s Cathedral*, p. 114.

³ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

⁴ Graves and Prim, as above, p. 122, note.

⁵ *Annals of Ulster*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Dunraven, as above, ii, p. 169.

⁸ See letter quoted in Appendix to Dunraven, as above.

across the low hills of glacial deposit on its left bank. Even if they were not primarily intended for watch-towers, they must have been used as such; but Dr. Petrie found reason to believe that the direction of the uppermost windows corresponded in some cases with the old lines of thoroughfare leading to the monasteries, and in the top story of the Round Tower at Kells "there are five such apertures, corresponding to the five roads by which the place was formerly approached."¹

(5) They would at the same time naturally serve as land-marks, to guide persons to the church or monastery. I have found them the greatest help in this way myself, but they were much more necessary when many parts of Ireland were far more thickly wooded than the country is at present. It is quite likely that a light would be shewn in their top windows at night, as in the much smaller towers—called *Lanternes des Morts*²—in certain French cemeteries. Thus the Round Towers would serve 'éclairer ou guetter,' as Viollet-le-Duc thought.

(6) And (whether this was at first intended or not) they certainly give unity and dignity to the ecclesiastical establishment over which they seem to preside, including, as this so often did, several churches of small size (not necessarily or usually seven) with other buildings, collected in a group and surrounded by a cashel, though each often stood in its own subordinate enclosure—many traces of this arrangement are to be seen on Inisceiltra. It is quite unfair to judge the appearance of a Round Tower taken by itself; it existed as a part of the monastery, and is appropriate only when it is seen in its proper connection.

As regards the date at which these Towers were first built, this is placed by Miss Stokes at about A.D. 900, and the estimate is generally accepted. Of course, towers, round and square (which might conceivably have been imitated in Ireland), are much older than this. There have been found at Pompeii paintings of country houses with detached round towers (of no great height) close by them; the coincidence is curious.³ "A mosaic of from 432 to 440 in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome, shews two churches near which are round towers."⁴ There is in a Greek MS. ascribed to the VII or VIII century, among the illustrations of the history of Joshua, a picture of Ai having round towers with conical roofs at the corners of the city walls.⁵ There is also still exist-

¹ Healy, *History of the Diocese of Meath*, i, p. 40.

² See the article in Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*.

³ See Gell and Gandy, *Pompeiana*, 3rd ed., plates 57 and 60.

⁴ Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 586.

⁵ Seroux d'Agincourt, *L'Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, vol. v, plate xxviii.

ing a tower, square, but in other ways bearing some practical resemblance to the Irish type, in Central Syria, among those many buildings which were in all probability finally deserted at the time of the Mussulman invasion, A.D. 634-638 (we have already seen apparent signs of connection between Ireland and the East in early times); in this tower the first story, cut off from the basement by a solid stone floor, was only reached by a ladder.¹ A square tower which more closely resembles the Irish type was discovered in Moab; this has a doorway 10 ft. from the ground, with a cross carved over it, and no other opening except one in each face at the top;² the ruins of a church stand close by. Further, a passage in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*,³ has been thought to date back the building of an Irish Round Tower to the VI century; it is there related how, through the prayers of the Saint, a man was miraculously preserved who fell from the top of the 'Great House,' called in the title to the chapter 'the Round Monastery,' a part of the establishment which was then being built under St. Columb's direction at Durrow. But this was doubtless a wooden building. Besides other considerations already mentioned as to the date of stone buildings in Ireland, if in St. Columb's time a stone tower could be built at Durrow, it would be strange if some part of his chief monastery, at Iona, had not been of stone. Yet we know that this was of wood, though there was plenty of the other material at hand.

But it is to the invasions of the Northmen in the IX century that the general building of towers connected with churches or monasteries is attributed by Viollet-le-Duc, in France, at all events.⁴ And there are plenty of proofs that towers resembling those in Ireland were built at and about that date on the Continent. Thus a tablet in relief, belonging to the library of St. Gall, ascribed to an abbot who died in 912, has on it, besides other buildings, two round towers roofed with cupolas and having several oblong windows on each floor.⁵ And the elaborate plan (with a description) for a rebuilding of the same monastery begun in 829 shews two round towers standing on each side of the main church's western apse, a short distance away, but connected with it by two passages; the ascent was to be by a corkscrew stair

¹ De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, page 58 and plate 18. He thinks it older than the monastery with which it is now connected.

² See Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, 3rd edition, ii, p. 451; Tristram, *The Land of Moab*, p. 145.

³ III, 15.

⁴ *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, iii, p. 286.

⁵ Lübke, *History of Sculpture*, translated by Bunnett, vol. i, p. 366.

(which is also indicated in the plan), 'for overlooking everything.'¹ That St. Gall was an Irish foundation is interesting, and perhaps important. And in England, the old Cathedral at Winchester had, at least before 971, a tower adjoining its ornamental doorway; this tower, whether of wood or stone, had a cupola-shaped roof,

Turris erat rostrata tholis,

says Wolstan, writing about A.D. 1006.² The church built by Æthelwold at Abingdon, in the latter part of the X century, is said to have had a round bell-tower.³ Round towers, with conical roofs and windows just below these, are represented on a set of Carlovingian ivory plaques, and round towers flanking a church on a Byzantine ivory, both of the XI century and both in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. Similar towers with cupola roofs are illustrated in the *Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, of the end of the X century.⁴

And though the 'ecclesiastical' round towers have, except in Ireland, mostly been superseded by later types, there are enough instances actually remaining to support such records, shewing that in the X and XI centuries, and even somewhat later, the Round Towers of Ireland would not have seemed by any means so unusual as they do at present. There are (as is well known) a good many round towers in England, most (but not all) of which are in Norfolk and Suffolk; there are three in Sussex, in the valley of the Ouse. Sometimes, as at Bramfield, near Halesworth, they are detached from their church. Many of them belong to the XII century; some, particularly those at Bessingham and Herringfleet, are of Saxon character;⁵ that of St. Michael, Lewes, shews XIII century architecture. The form of these towers is no doubt largely due to the want of good building-stone for corners in the districts where they occur. They are round, and sometimes they

¹ See Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii, p. 213, etc.; Willis, paper in *The Archaeological Journal* (June, 1848), vol. v, p. 85, etc.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, pp. 382, 383; Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, ii, p. 570, etc. The two towers had each a chapel at the top. A cupola roof seems to be indicated in the plan.

² D'Achery and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, saec. iv, pars ii, p. 70. The same Wolstan, in another poem, mentions a tower (apparently a different one) at Winchester, with a similar roof, of five stories, all lighted by windows.

³ See *De Abbatibus Abendonae*, in the Appendix to *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (*Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*), ii, p. 278.

⁴ See the edition published by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

⁵ Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, ii, p. 182, etc. The tower at Lewes has in the top story two quatrefoiled windows only, which look respectively slightly east of south and south of west, i.e., in the directions where the look-out is clear; there are hills to the north and north-west, and the church roof was nearly up to the windows on the east. This reminds one of the similarly practical arrangement at *Teampull Finghin*.

'ST. KEVIN'S HOUSE,' ROUND TOWER, AND CATHEDRAL,
GLENDALOUGH (PP. 42 ETC., 52).

CLONMACNOIS, FROM THE SHANNON (PP. 51, 52).

are detached, but beyond this they bear no special resemblance to the Irish type; closer parallels to this are, however, to be found.

Above the XII century chancel of St. Peter's-in-the-East at Oxford, at its eastern corners, rise two round turrets with conical roofs of stone, which are almost exactly like the tops of those Irish Round Towers which are perfect. At Beckley, not many miles away, there is a staircase turret, with a conical stone roof, at the angle of the north aisle and the chancel, which bears a very close resemblance to a miniature Round Tower.¹ At Devizes there is at the north-west angle of the square central tower of St. John's Church (a XII century building) a staircase turret—now completed with battlements—the uppermost section of which tapers towards the top; the turret is banded, with windows between the bands. It is only attached to the square tower just closely enough to carry out its purpose, and, taken by itself, is on the outside very much like an Irish Round Tower that has lost its cap.

However, such parallel examples are not confined to England. At Epinal, in Lorraine, a round tower, very closely resembling the Irish type in its tapering and other features, is attached to a transept supposed to be of the X century.² The campaniles at Ravenna are probably all of some date later than Charlemagne;³ that of St. Apollinare in Classe, 140 or 150 feet high, is detached from its church. There are two round towers at the western corners of a church at Gernrode in the Hartz; this church is said to have been founded in 960.⁴ The round tower at Nivelles, attached to a church dedicated in 1045,⁴ has several bands like those at Ardmore. A good many other instances might be quoted from France, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, still existing or recorded, which, if not themselves the model for the Irish Round Towers, had a common origin with them, and shew that the type was formerly not an unusual one. (The Round Towers in Scotland may be more probably derived directly from Ireland.)

The Irish appear merely to have adopted one common shape of tower, to have adapted it, more or less, to their requirements (perhaps with features derived from other examples), and to have used it, at first exclusively, for some centuries. In recent times, owing to the ruin or the rebuilding of the greater part of the parallel instances, the Irish Round Towers were thought to be unique. And it was just their

¹ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 601, where there is an illustration of it; in 1907 it had become for the most part covered with ivy.

² See Lady Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare*, p. 224, etc.

³ See Freeman, *Historical and Architectural Sketches*, p. 51.

⁴ See Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (3rd edition), ii, pp. 190 and 220.

supposed unique character which suggested the assigning to them of some strange origin and 'prehistoric' date.

An important confirmation of the view which connects the introduction of these towers with the Danish invasions is supplied by a map appended to Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*. Here the chief lines of Danish raids before the X century, upon the sea coasts and islands, on Lough Neagh, and along the Shannon with its chain of lakes, are marked, and with them the position of Round Towers. There are, it is true, Round Towers elsewhere—prudence might dictate the building of such defences in places where the invaders had not yet come; there were also the 'ordinary risks' of the frequent wars among the Irish themselves; and the Round Tower became a specially Irish institution. But, on the whole, the coincidence shewn in the map between the lines of Danish invasion and the position of these Towers is close enough to lend a general support to the cause and date above assigned for their introduction. And at the end of the IX and the beginning of the X century there was in Ireland such comparative peace from the Danes¹ as would allow time for the erection of the earliest towers.

Further, this estimate of their date is roughly confirmed by the Annals; the earliest certain mention of a Round Tower, as being burnt, belongs to the year 950, and the first recorded builder of one—that at Tomgraney, of which no trace now remains—died in 964. (Both these passages have been already quoted.) Thus, though our information from records as to the date at which they were first built is obviously incomplete, yet, so far as it goes, it coincides with the time which other considerations indicate.

But these Towers do not all date from this period. Brian Boru, at the beginning of the XI century, is said to have built thirty-two of them. It is also recorded that many were erected in the time of Donogh O'Carroll, about A.D. 1170.² One was built at Annaghdown so late as the year 1238,³ and others were, no doubt, the work of intermediate times.

Unfortunately (as has before been noticed with regard to early Irish churches) we get little help from records in fixing the dates of typical towers. A very large proportion of those mentioned in the Annals have perished. That the Tower of Castledermot—"of undressed granite blocks"—was built by an abbot who died in 919 seems to be

¹ From 875 to 915; see Joyce, *A Concise History of Ireland*, p. 62.

² See authorities in Dunraven, as above, ii, p. 186, etc.

³ *Annals of the Four Masters and Annals of Lough Cl.*

ROUND TOWER, 'ST. DECLAN'S HOUSE,' AND CATHEDRAL, ARDMORE
(PP. 38, 39, 57, 108, 153, 154).

CHURCH AND ROUND TOWER, DESERT OF NGUS
(P. 59).

TEAMPULL MOR, 'MOLAISE'S HOUSE,' AND ROUND
TOWER, WITH ABBEY BEHIND: DEVENISH
ISLAND (PP. 59, 104).

To face p. 56

merely a tradition, though not an improbable one. The Tower of Kells was in existence in 1076,¹ when a king was murdered in it. The notice of the Tower at Monasterboice has been already quoted. 'O'Rorke's Tower' at Clonmacnois is said (according to a late and not very trustworthy authority) to have been built before 964; but its completion is recorded in 1120 or 1124,² and its good ashlar masonry is inconsistent with the earlier date; its doorway has a proper arch, but is quite plain. The documentary evidence is quite insufficient for any complete classification of the Towers according to their dates; but something further must be said on this point.

Of XII century towers that at Ardmore is an undoubted example, and it appears clearly to have been completely built at one time. It is not only of excellent regular masonry, but has a doorway with distinctly Romanesque mouldings, and bands of similar character at the points where the tower narrows—besides its gradual taper. At the opposite end of the series, among the earliest examples, one would be inclined to place the Antrim Tower. It is built of large stones dressed very roughly or not at all (except those forming the doorway), the gaps being filled with smaller stones and mortar. Its openings are square-headed, without any trace of ornament, except the 'Celtic' cross carved in relief above its doorway—and this is not inconsistent with an early date. What remains of the Tower at Drumcliff is very similar. But we have already seen that Irish masonry is, for the most part, an uncertain guide to dates, and it appears quite possible that a tower of rough form may have been built 'against time' for practical purposes—in the quickest, rather than in the most perfect way then known.³ The possibility of this is confirmed by the comparison of a round tower—tapering, but not so high in proportion to its breadth as most of the "ecclesiastical" Round Towers—which forms part of Lismore Castle; "it is built of rubble, or rather rag masonry," and is "as rude and early-looking as almost any of the Round Towers." But it is not older than the end of

¹ *Annals of Ulster, of the Four Masters*, etc.

² The Registry of Clonmacnoise (see *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, new series, vol. i, p. 444, etc., and below, Appendix Z) says: "And the said Fergal (O'Ruairk) hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish Claictheagh, in Cluain, as a memoriall of his owne part of that cemeterie." Fergal was killed in 964 (*Chronicum Scotorum*). The *Chronicum Scotorum* gives 1120 for the completion of the Tower, while the *Annals of the Four Masters* give 1124. It is of course possible that an earlier tower may have been re-built.

³ The fact that the Tower of Tomgraney, built by an Abbot who died in 964, should have needed repair before 1014 (see pp. 37 and 119) does not, on the face of it, say much for the success of the building, though some special circumstances might explain this.

the XII century.¹ However, if the Tower at Antrim should not have been actually erected about or soon after A.D. 900, it is at least reasonable to suppose that it represents fairly enough the earliest type of tower.

As regards the Towers of intermediate type, there is great difficulty in arranging these with any certainty. Miss Stokes, in editing Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture*, attempted—tentatively, while confessing the great difficulty of the task—to classify all the Towers into four groups. This classification depends on the character of the masonry; the progress of the doorway from a square head towards a perfect radiating round arch, and the introduction of an 'architrave' and other ornaments to it; and on the use, in what are supposed to be the later examples, of some stone easier to work for the doorways (it often extends some distance beyond them) and for the windows. Now we have already seen that early Irish masonry is apt to mislead. Besides this, in some of these Towers it varies greatly—thus at Kildare the lower part, in rectangular blocks, is far the best; the masonry of Timahoe Round Tower appears to be of three different kinds. Such variety may be due to repair or rebuilding; especially since these Towers were, as we know from facts recorded, liable to injury in sieges, and likely also to be struck by lightning, as was the case with 'O'Rorke's Tower,' where the inferior style of masonry near its top can be explained from its recorded history. Where we have not such an account, we cannot be certain as to the cause of the variation, which is then merely confusing. As to signs of the Irish architects 'feeling their way towards the arch' (which would be more natural if they had not known finished examples abroad), these doorways are not very wide, and, with a small opening, it is (as we have already noticed) easy and natural to make a sham or ornamental arch out of what is really a lintel; instances of arches which are not such in construction are not uncommon even much later in the Middle Ages—in Ireland, as in 'St. Brendan's House' at Kilmalkedar, in the domestic buildings of Kilconnell Abbey, and in the 'College' at Slane; and in England as well. This would be all the more natural, since in Irish doorways the lintel lived on side by side with the arch for a long time. There are two instances at Glendalough of a relieving arch over the lintel, and in the doorways at Maghera and Banagher (Co. Londonderry) there is a lintel without and an arch within. An ornamental arch on the outside, while the wall is really supported by a

¹ See Parker, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November, 1864, pp. 541, 542.

CROSS OF PATRICK AND COLUMBA, AND ROUND TOWER,
KELLS (PP. 57, 59; 86, 89, 90, 94 ETC.).

DOORWAY OF ROUND TOWER,
DONAGHMORE (P. 59).

CHURCH TOWER WITH OLDER ROUND TOWER, LUSK (P. 61).

To face p. 38

lintel, is to be found even in XV century work, as at Askeaton, in the doorway into the sacristy, and at Muckross Abbey, in a doorway leading from the transept into the nave. One would not therefore be inclined (especially considering Irish conservatism in architecture) to attach too much importance to the fact that in the Tower at Monasterboice the arch is scooped out of a single stone, and at Disert Oengus out of a greater number. Then as to the use of a different stone for the openings, particularly the doorway, though this is probably a mark of progress, it certainly tends to make it uncertain whether alterations have been subsequently introduced. In some cases indeed, as at Disert Oengus, the doorway has almost certainly not been inserted later;¹ but in other Towers changes may have been made without leaving definite signs. In the Round Tower at Devenish too, which seems to have been all built at one date, of well-cut sandstone, with fine joints, having a band of Romanesque ornament below the cap, there is a doorway without mouldings, the architrave merely projecting slightly from the face of the wall. The conservatism, or 'harking back,' which is most obvious, for instance, in the triangular-headed openings of this Tower and of that at Ardmore, is throughout Irish architecture (with the exception, for the most part, of its XIII and XIV century buildings) a most characteristic and often a most puzzling feature. On the whole, it seems that, though some general notion of the development of these Round Towers may be gained, it is impossible in very many cases to make out the exact history or date of the particular Tower or of its different parts.

As ornaments of the doorways, besides the simple 'architrave' or frame, the mouldings at Ardmore, and the cross at Antrim, a crucifix appears (above the doorway) at Donaghmore, pellets or beads at Disert Oengus, carved heads, now much obliterated, at Donaghmore and Kells, and elaborate Romanesque ornament at Kildare and Timahoe; and this does not exhaust the varieties.

As to the Towers which deviate from the ordinary types, some of these have been incidentally mentioned. That at Disert O'Dea

¹ "Such is clearly not the case in the present instance; for it is most curious, that two of the courses on the right-hand side of the door, as viewed externally, actually bend down for the length of several stones to meet the line of courses of the jamb, thus shewing that the wall was in course of erection when the doorway was in progress" (Dunraven, as above, ii, p. 25). It is possible to imagine another explanation of the fact, but this is much the most probable one. The doorway has a row of pellets running round the top. These would naturally suggest a Romanesque date, but pellets occur also on some of the High Crosses. However, in combination with the mouldings, they seem clearly to indicate a date in the XII century.

diminishes by stages, like the Tower at Ardmore, but leaves these bare, not covered by bands—like minute steps. The Round Tower at Kinneigh is hexagonal for the first 18 feet. This and the Tower at Meelick (Co. Mayo) have stone floors (of flags and vaulted, respectively) in their lower stories, and so has that at Castledermot—an improvement from a defensive point of view (especially against fire), which one would have expected to find more widely used in Ireland. The Towers at Turlough and Dromiskin are particularly broad in proportion to their height.

In the later part of the period during which Round Towers were erected they were also built as a part of churches. We have already seen one instance of this, in the Tower upon the roof of St. Kevin's, Glendalough, and until less than a century ago there was, in the same place, another example. To the west end of Trinity Church (already mentioned) a square building was added at a later time. Its lowest story was roofed with a barrel vault (the spring of which can still be seen), and rose into a Tower, square for the lowest 15 ft., the rest round, and the whole reaching a height of about 60 ft. There were no buttresses; but the Tower stood until 1818, when it was blown down. In the church on Ireland's Eye the Tower was built above the east end of the church, at Killossy it was at the west end,¹ rising from a square base as in Trinity Church, Glendalough. In the church of St. Michael le Pole, Dublin,¹ it rose from about the middle of the roof.

At Cahán Abbey, near Dungiven, "a round tower, measuring about 50 ft. in height, stood at the south-west corner, incorporated with the walls of the church, and angular until it reached the spring of the roof, when it assumed its circular form, and was so continued up to the cap. It was undermined by people searching for treasure, and fell about the year 1784."² The lowest part of it is still to be seen; the church was founded in A.D. 1100.³ At Clonmacnois there is a very interesting Round Tower—attached to the nave and chancel of the little church called *Teampull Finghin*—the date of which has been much disputed. The evidence is very strong that it is not older than the church (as this stands at present), which belongs to the XII century,⁴ and it cannot be far removed from it in date; its good ashlar masonry points to this, the

¹ See illustrations in Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, and Dunraven, as above, ii, p. 155.

² *Acts of Archbishop Colton*, 1397, ed. by Reeves, p. 41, note.

³ Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

⁴ Except the innermost order of the chancel arch, which is plainly a 'restoration' made much later, probably in the XVII century. For some further discussion of the relation of Tower to church, see Appendix F, *Teampull Finghin* and its Tower.

round string-courses inside and the rebating of the windows for shutters confirm the estimate. The conical cap was (and is once more) built of herring-bone 'ashlar, which has a good effect in that position.

In some cases, however, a later church has unmistakably been attached to an earlier Round Tower. At Cashel the Round Tower (one of the perfect examples) is now connected with the north transept of the XIII century Cathedral; here the original doorway remains, 11 or 12 ft. up, the Tower being no doubt a relic of the older group of buildings upon the Rock. At St. Mullins one of the churches has at its south-west corner the remains of a Round Tower which has evidently once been isolated; but a staircase has at a later time been opened into it from the church which has been built up to it. In the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Kilmallock the later church takes the old Round Tower as a sort of bastion to the north-western corner of its north aisle—but the Tower has been to some extent rebuilt. At Lusk Church three of the corners of the western tower (which is otherwise square) are built out as tapering round towers or turrets; in order, no doubt, to match the older Round Tower, the lower part of which now touches the church tower near its fourth corner. This is a quaint but ingenious arrangement, and produces a rather good effect. In general, however, most observers will agree that the Irish Round Tower is better detached. It is not easy to fit to another building, and, where the church to which it is attached is a small one, the height of an old Round Tower retained or of a new one built upon something approaching the scale of the old towers makes the proportion of tower to church almost an absurdity.

We have seen what was the origin of these Round Towers, and others were probably copied from them. There is one, for instance, near Peel Castle, in the Isle of Man, which has to a considerable extent lost its original Irish character through 'restoration.' In Scotland there is one at Abernethy and another at Brechin. These are detached. In the Orkney Islands, on Egilsey a Round Tower is attached to the west end of the old church there, and at Deerness there were two Towers of this kind in a similar position. There were other examples in Shetland, now destroyed.¹ The connection of Scotland with Ireland in things ecclesiastical was, of course, natural, and more or less persistent.

As for the building of towers apart from their church, some instances of this, outside of Ireland, have been mentioned above, and such towers were sometimes erected down to a late period in the Middle Ages. The late Gothic tower at Chichester is a well-known example,

¹ See Dunraven, as above, and McGibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. i.

and there is one too at Beccles in Suffolk, also at Ledbury, Bosbury, and other places in Herefordshire. But the instance which most curiously reminds one of the common Irish arrangement is at Evesham, where the late bell-tower is almost surrounded by the site and scanty remains of the Abbey and by the two parish churches.

It is difficult to avoid suspecting that the form of the high, slender, and sometimes tapering square towers, of which many were built in Ireland in the late Middle Ages (as at Quin Abbey), was in part suggested by the example of those similar Round Towers which were even more numerous then than they are at the present time; that these were still objects of interest is shewn by the Round Tower carved outside the piscina in Roserk Abbey.



TEAMPULL FINGHIN, CLONMACNOIS (PP. 60, 61, 208-211).

THE ROCK OF CASHEL, FROM E.S.E.: HOUSE OF VICARS CHORAL, CORMAC'S CHAPEL,
CATHEDRAL, AND ROUND TOWER (PP. 61; 120 ETC.; 138, 139).

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CHAPTER V

EARLY IRISH ORNAMENT AND STONE CARVING

PART I.—EARLY IRISH ORNAMENT IN GENERAL, AND ITS ORIGINS

BEFORE describing—in outline—the early ornamental stonework of Ireland, the grave-slabs and crosses, it will be best to say something about the forms of ornament used, particularly those which are most common in Ireland, and to endeavour to trace their origin. Now the types of ornament which stand out most prominently in early Irish decoration are the divergent spiral or ‘trumpet-pattern,’ key or fret-patterns, and interlacement. These we will look at as briefly as may be possible.

For the origin of the ‘trumpet-pattern’ we must go back a very long way. There are in Egyptian art representations of the lotus-flower, intended (in a conscientious, but inartistic spirit) to depict the flower, not as it appears from a single point of view, but as it actually is. Just as both sides of an ox were sometimes represented in early art joining in a single head, so the side view of the flower is combined with a view of it from the top, shewing radiating petals in the interior. Below are the ‘sepals’ which had enclosed the bud, curling back.¹ We meet with this again in Assyria—for instance, in “ivories carved by Phoenician artists in imitation of Egyptian designs, from Nimroud (Calah), about 850-700 B.C.,” in the British Museum. Here the origin of the design appears to be forgotten; it seems sometimes to be regarded as a vine, and bunches of grapes hang from it; without these, it is used as a border for pavement, practically in the Greek form, which is known under the various names of ‘palmette,’ ‘anthemion,’ ‘honeysuckle pattern,’ or ‘Greek honeysuckle.’

¹ See Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 68, etc. As to the Assyrian Sacred Tree, parts of which are very much like the palmette or honeysuckle-pattern, if this is older, it may have affected the change of lotus to palmette. But it certainly looks as if it had itself been largely due to the example of the palmette, and the change of the Egyptian lotus to the palmette needs nothing to explain it.

The admirable way in which the Egyptians elaborated the pattern for themselves may be seen in Prisse D’Avennes, *Histoire de l’Art Égyptien*, particularly in the decorations of ceilings reproduced, where the joining of the spirals ties the whole together—a more or less parallel development to that in Celtic or ‘barbarian’ hands.

From the VII century B.C., at all events, the palmette¹ appears as a decoration on Greek vases. It is obviously identical with its Assyrian form, and is used as a mere decoration, frequently as a border, in a number of varieties. Among the later Athenian vases, and those made in Italy, in imitation of these, Apulian, Lucanian, and Campanian of about 300 B.C. and later (which specially concern us), there are many specimens where a group of these patterns is used to cover the sides of the vase under the handles, the different palmettes being linked together by the continuation of the lines ending in spirals (once 'sepals' of the lotus-flower); some of these spirals, however, assume a thicker form, widening out from their termination, a change which perhaps hardly improves their appearance. And in some cases what had once been petals have themselves assumed more or less a spiral form,² making the pattern almost wholly a system of connected spirals. Such decoration as this obviously has much in common with the 'divergent spiral' or 'trumpet-pattern' so largely used in Late-Celtic work.

As to interlocking of spirals, this is, I think, quite naturally suggested. For a spiral in one colour (say, yellow) on a ground of another (black, for instance) gives the effect of two spirals interlocked (yellow and black respectively), if you attend first to one colour and then to the other. But it is perhaps still more obviously suggested by the ornament like conventionalized waves breaking, which frequently appears as a border on vases—and this may have contributed its share, as an example, towards such interlocking.³

However, the resemblance of these classical patterns to Celtic spirals might, after all, be a coincidence.⁴ Some further proof of the

¹ There is also something which is at least very much like it on a piece of 'Mycenaean' pottery in the First Vase Room of the British Museum. See *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum*, 2nd edition, plate on p. 159.

² See *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, etc.*, plate, p. 208. There are other examples, *e.g.*, from Apulia, in the Fourth Vase Room.

³ This interlocking is very distinctly marked in a use of this 'wave-pattern' on the hem of the dress in an image of Cybele found at Cilurnum, preserved in the museum at Chesters, Northumberland. It is not, of course, implied that this specimen is more than an example of what is suggested by the pattern—the interlocking appears in 'barbarian' art long before the date of the statue.

⁴ Thus, for instance, some of the uses of spirals found in Mycenaean art bear a considerable resemblance to some of the later forms found in Ireland—for example, the spirals on the columns flanking the gate of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, now in the British Museum. Their connection with the very ancient Irish spiral patterns, as found, *e.g.*, at Newgrange, has been already mentioned; but there appears to be no connection between these patterns and Late-Celtic ornament.

METAL ORNAMENT FOUND
IN A CRANNOG NEAR
STROKESTOWN
(P. 70).

APULIAN AMPHORA CAMPANIAN LEKYTHOS CRATER
C. 300 B.C. III CENT. B.C. C. 300 B.C. (OR LATER)
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (P. 64 ETC.).



DETAIL OF BRIDLE-BIT FROM
ATTYMON (P. 67).

TOMBSTONE OF S. BERECHTUIR, TULLYLEASE.

"QUICUMQUE HUNC TITULÚ LEGERIT ORAT
PRO BERECHTUIRE."

(PP. 69, 77, 78.)

BRONZE DISC OR 'INCENSE-CUP' (P. 67).

To face p. 64

BOOK OF KELLS: FIRST PAGE OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL (PP. 66 ETC., 212 ETC.).

To face p. 64

connection is necessary, if it is to be more than a possible hypothesis. Fortunately, the connection can be traced not only with probability but with certainty.

Whether from its own intrinsic merits or for some other reason, the palmette or 'honeysuckle pattern' has certainly had a great fascination for those who have come in contact with it. It is used as a border to ivory plaques—to one, for instance, of the XI century in the South Kensington Museum—and over a carved slab representing the Raising of Lazarus, supposed to have been brought from Selsey, now in Chichester Cathedral, probably of about A.D. 1000. It frequently appears in the carving of English Romanesque capitals, as, for instance, in the triforium of Chichester Cathedral, and on fragments of a string-course which ran round the Chapter House at Durham, as well as painted in the Galilee there; and we shall see instances of it in Irish Romanesque. Any one who has it in his mind will constantly see more or less close imitations of it in modern English decoration. And there is a most curious reproduction of it in a Japanese ornamental border,¹ of quite recent date, though this is not at all a servile copy, the designer having put fresh life into the general idea—somewhat as the succession of Celtic or 'barbarian' artists were able to do.

Now there was on the Continent, at the time when the early adaptations of the pattern appear, no difficulty about examples to copy. Whether supplied by trade or by plunder, from Greece or from Italy, vessels² of classical workmanship have been found with ancient burials (thus such burials can be approximately dated) and side by side with them the native rendering of their ornament—as at Waldalgesheim, near Bingen, where a Greek bucket ornamented with the palmette was found in a grave, and close by it a flagon of native workmanship, ornamented with interlocking spirals (as well as with a simple twist-pattern as a border), and at a slightly higher level a gold torc bearing patterns evidently derived from the palmette; these are probably of the IV century B.C. A bronze helmet found at Berru (Marne Department), probably of the V century B.C., a cast of which is in the British Museum, shews a very distinct copy of the entire pattern. Other examples, bearing an obvious relation to the Greek pattern, have come to light in other parts of Germany and France, as well as in Switzerland, where (for instance) a spear-head found, besides illustrating the

¹ On the letter of thanks, sent in 1905 to contributors to the Japanese Soldiers' and Sailors' Widows and Families Fund.

² No doubt, also, patterns on woven fabrics, which have long since perished, would help to supply examples for imitation.

adaptation of the palmette, also shews two varieties of fret or key-pattern.¹

It remains to connect such imitations or adaptations of classical art with that of the British Isles. At Aylesford in Kent (that is, in the part of Britain most nearly connected with the Continent) there were found side by side, in a pit-burial, a bronze flagon of Italo-Greek manufacture, having below its handle a curious form of ornament derived from the palmette, and a bronze-mounted bucket bearing Celtic adaptations of classical ornament, and of the palmette in particular; these are now to be seen in the British Museum. The burial is assigned with probability to the I century B.C.²

A word must here be said about another 'motive' which comes into Late-Celtic art, and appears to combine with the palmette to produce interlocking spirals. In Irish MSS., notably in the frontispiece to the Epistle of Jerome in the Book of Durrow³ (as in much earlier pagan work found in England) an exceedingly common design is that of three⁴ spirals interlocking at their centre—each of these may pass out to form a 'trumpet.' This seems to be the child not only of the palmette, but of what is called the 'triskele,' a design which suggests the arms of the Isle of Man, and is believed to be an adaptation of the 'fylfot' or 'swastika,' so widely used in ancient art; a somewhat similar design, which may or may not be worked out as spirals, is found in Late-Celtic work in Britain⁵ and on the Continent; there is an instance of it on the carved pillar-stone from Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare, now in the Dublin Museum, and examples, with the ends or legs passing round and out so as to form the 'trumpet-pattern,' in the Lindisfarne Gospels.⁶

The influence of the palmette upon Late-Celtic Art, which had

¹ See *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age of Central and Western Europe (including the British Late-Keltic Period) in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum*, especially pp. 17-22, 53, 54, 67, 68, and the specimens and drawings in the Museum. The style of art known as Late-Celtic is now often named from La Tène ('the shallows'), since, at a spot so called, at the northern end of the Lake of Neuchâtel, a large number of objects ornamented in this style have been found (p. 41).

² See *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age, British Museum*, p. 114, etc., and Arthur John Evans, *On a Late-Celtic Urn-field at Aylesford, Kent, and on the Gaulish Illyro-Italic, and Classical Connexions of the Forms of Pottery and Bronze-work there discovered*, in *Archaeologia*, lii, p. 315, etc.

³ There is an illustration of it in Miss Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, part i, p. 19. The MS. is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

⁴ But the spirals are sometimes two or four in number.

⁵ See *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, pp. 19, 102, 119, 137.

⁶ For instance, on the first page of St. Luke's Gospel.

STONE IN THE CHURCHYARD, CONWAL (P. 80).

STONE AT TUKOE (PP. 67, 68, 80).

STONE AT CASTLESTRANGE (P. 67).

THE MULLAGHMAST STONE (PP. 66, 67, 68, 80).

To face p. 66

begun long before, seems to have been reinforced at intervals by classical models on buckets, vases, and no doubt on fabrics; sometimes an attempt was made to imitate, or adapt, the whole pattern; sometimes a part of it only was attended to. In the south-east of Britain such reinforcement is, as we have seen, clearly indicated. But, shortly before the Christian era, British art appears to have loosed itself altogether from dependence on its classical models. Provided with fresh ideas, which were indeed suggested by classical ornament, but to which native artists contributed by far the larger part of their value, it developed in independence its beautiful characteristic designs, in flowing curves, such as are shewn in pottery and in metal-work—for instance, on the splendid bronze shield found in the Thames at Battersea, now in the British Museum, and in many other objects to be seen there. The cradle of this art appears to have been the south-east of Britain, from which it spread to the rest of the country, to Scotland and to Ireland.¹ In what is now England this art was practically destroyed (at all events, for the time) by the Roman conquest. In Ireland it survived as a living art, and is illustrated by many examples—particularly in bronze—at Dublin, and by others in the British Museum.

Certain bridle-bits of bronze (one of which is from Attymon, Co. Galway) in the Dublin Museum, and some scabbards from the crannog at Lisnacrogghera, Co. Antrim (of which there are casts at Dublin, while the originals are in the Belfast Museum), in the Late-Celtic, or 'La Tène,' style, give good examples of the ornament derived from the palmette.² The bronze disks with a small cup on part of their face, sometimes called 'incense-cups,' also illustrate the free, bold curves characteristic of this style (having the same derivation), and the ornament may be studied in these and other examples of metal-work in the Dublin Museum. But perhaps still more important (since these at least cannot conceivably have been brought into the country from the outside) are three stones, two represented by casts in the Dublin Museum the originals being at Castlestrange, Co. Roscommon, and at Turoe, Co. Galway, while the third stone, from Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare (already mentioned), is itself deposited in the Museum at Dublin. That at Castlestrange is a carved boulder, lying on the ground, as it must always have done, ornamented with connected spirals which seem to shew a clear relationship to the palmette; the one at Turoe is a pillar-

¹ See *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, e.g., frontispiece, pp. 30, 126, 127, 136. For the connection of Ireland with Britain, see Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 24.

² There are in the *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, pp. 148, 149, illustrations of a scabbard from Lisnacrogghera and of an 'incense-cup.'

stone, and has, besides similar ornament, a border round it, near the ground, of fret or Greek key pattern, plainly connected with a common classical form of that ornament. The stone from Mullaghmast in character stands somewhat apart from these, being decorated with a most effective pattern of circles grouped together by curved lines, ornament of an unusual kind, but probably also derived from the palmette, while near the top it has a 'triskele' in a circle, the arms (or legs) not being worked into spirals in any way. There are, however, two connected spirals on another part of the stone; these have no diverging lines, as in the developed trumpet-pattern. These stones illustrate and explain clearly and unmistakably the origin—as well as the vigorous life—of this Irish ornament. They are in all probability pre-Christian; but one must of course bear in mind that—in Ireland—they may still be some centuries later than the Christian era.

So far we have spoken of the earlier or pre-Christian form of the pattern; but the living art of Ireland, uninterfered with by any Roman conquest, as living things do, changed and developed into a somewhat different form. In the earlier examples the curves run freely; in the later ones they are tighter, more formal, more symmetrical, and the spiral part takes a more elaborate shape. In this later form the 'divergent spiral,' or 'trumpet-pattern,' "consists of two lines wound in a spiral, on leaving which the two lines diverge, and at the end of the space is a curve, formed by the parting of the lines, like the mouth of a trumpet. Then the lines converge again, whirling to a centre where they turn, and, winding back again, diverge and converge as before, thus forming a design the lines of which may be carried on in an infinite series of circles and curves."¹ Each 'trumpet' or step in the pattern is usually marked off in some way, as a pause in the design, making it intelligible and giving rest to the eye. The pattern was used both for the decoration of works of art in metal—such as the Tara Brooch—and also in illuminating MSS., such as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells. It was brought back to the part of Britain which had now become England by Irish monks, to be used here also in the decoration of MSS. (such as the Lindisfarne Gospels) though, for some obscure reason, not upon the English stone crosses.² In Ireland it was for several centuries to be a most prominent and

¹ Miss Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, part i, p. 73.

² See Haverfield and Greenwell, *A Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham*, p. 45.

It is interesting to trace out for oneself the developments of the pattern in Irish MSS. and other decoration. Instances where it seems to 'hark back' towards its original classical

beautiful living 'motive' of ornament on parchment and in metal and also in stone.

Fret or key-patterns have about as long a history. They are found, highly developed, at a very early date in Egypt—for instance, on the ceilings of the tombs at Carnac, of about 1700 B.C.¹ They occur on Mycenaean pottery, and were a very common ornament of Greek vases in classical times; they were also used as a border to garments. They occur freely on Roman mosaics, sometimes arranged diagonally—and with lines interlacing—as in a mosaic found in Threadneedle Street in the City. An early instance of the adoption of this decoration by Celtic or 'barbarian' artists has already been cited; imitations of the pattern may be seen on Gaulish pottery (perhaps of the V century B.C.) in the British Museum, and a simple form of it occurs on a Celtic coin struck to imitate one of Philip II of Macedon.² It appears also, as already stated, on the sculptured stone at Turoe. It may perhaps have reached Ireland at a rather late date; it was not quite so extensively used in stone as the transformation of the palmette or as interlacement (in the MSS. also it is less common than these), nor was it re-created to the same degree. In some cases classical fret-patterns are used unaltered, though often the Celtic artist, having assimilated the idea, worked it out, in MSS. or on stone, with marvellous variety and skill, sometimes separated off and sometimes combined with other forms of decoration. There are striking examples of its use on the tombstone of S. Berechta, of Tullylease, who died in 839,³ and on one of the High Crosses at Ahenny (or Kilkispeen), as well as in the Book of Kells and other MSS.

Interlaced work is of not less importance than the Late-Celtic spiral in the art of Ireland, but it is not very clear how it came there. It is of course not difficult to discover a natural suggestion for such patterns, which are found in various parts of the world; a climbing

form may often be accidental, but the curious ornaments, like finials, projecting from pages of illumination (for instance in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Mac Durnan), may perhaps owe something directly to the classical design, treated according to the artistic ideas which were now a settled part of Irish art.

¹ Romilly Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, p. 366. See also Prisse D'Avennes, *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*.

² See *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, pp. 151, 152.

Key-patterns are also found in distant countries, such as Japan and Mexico, from which they could not have reached Ireland.

³ "839. Berichtir of Tulach-leis died on the 6th of December."—*Annals of the Four Masters*.

There is a drawing of his grave-slab in Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, edited by Miss Stokes, ii, pl. XXX, fig. 64.

plant, a plait, a basket, the print of a rope tied round a jar before it is baked,¹ or a tangled fishing-line would readily suggest them; the last named—as some of us know—naturally forms interlacements of the most varied and intricate kinds. There is some simple interlaced ornament on some of the cross-slabs at Clonmacnois which distinctly suggests plait-work. It is of course not impossible that such ornament should have originated in Ireland as well as in other countries. But we cannot find it growing up in its Irish shape in earlier Celtic work, as was the case with the spiral and even to some extent with the fret-patterns. The simple twist-pattern which we saw in Celtic or ‘barbarian’ work (copied from Greek art), at a much earlier date, will not greatly help us, since this does not seem to have been much used or elaborated; while what is called the ‘basket-pattern’—groups of engraved lines running at an angle to each other²—is not much like the later interlaced work of Ireland. There is, however, in the Dublin Museum a piece of metal-work (found in a crannog near Strokestown) which, with spiral ornament, which is hardly of the later or Christian form, combines some interlacing strap-work having affinities both with classical interlacement, and to some extent with the simpler forms of the ornament as used in Ireland.³

But in any case, if the type of decoration was known, it does not appear to have been at all largely used or developed in Ireland in pre-Christian times. And so, though it is not impossible that it should have been worked out from germs already present in the country under the artistic inspiration which Christianity supplied, and, by experiments in MSS., it seems pretty certain that the idea received at least further reinforcement from the outside with the introduction of Christianity and the increased intercourse with other countries which this involved. Now interlacings are found elaborately worked out in Armenian churches, and in Coptic and Ethiopic and Arabic MSS. But though such a derivation of Irish interlacement might be by no means impossible (witness the “Seven Egyptian Monks of Disert Ulidh” and other indications before referred to),⁴ I do not know of any Eastern MS. dated early enough to make this probable—the

¹ See Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 92, etc.; also *Social England*, edited by Traill and Mann, i, p. 126.

² See *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, plates on pp. 113, 137.

³ The sort of way in which such ornament might have reached Ireland even before Christianity is illustrated by the fragments of silver vessels, broken up, found at Coleraine (along with coins, some being those of Honorius), adorned with simple interlaced patterns as well as a spiral pattern not of the Irish type, which are in the British Museum.

⁴ See pp. 14, 15.

LINDISFARNE GOSPELS: FIRST PAGE OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE
(PP. 68 ETC., 212 ETC.).

copying may have been in the reverse direction, or, more probably, both may have been developed from the same germ. Again, there are examples of such work on Merovingian buckles, some said to be of the V century, in the British Museum, and some of these are not unlike Irish knot-work. But, though this connection is possible, it seems distinctly more likely that any reinforcement which the tendency (hitherto quite inconsiderable) to use and develop these patterns received should have come from a further acquaintance with classical art.

Besides such earlier instances as those on the base of a column from the older Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, in the British Museum, (where it appears in a rather elaborate but not Irish form) and the simple twist-pattern already mentioned, which goes back to the ivory work of Phoenician artists found at Nimrûd (of about 850-700 B.C.), interlaced patterns often occur as a border to Roman mosaics, and on one—from Withington, Gloucestershire, where two borders of the kind run together and intermingle—the resemblance to Irish work is stronger, as it is also on a mosaic at Brading, Isle of Wight, and in a pattern found in pavement at Ephesus.¹ In the churches and houses of Central Syria, of the V and VI centuries, drawn and described by the Marquis de Vogüé, there is plenty of simple interlacement, but occasionally this becomes more elaborate and artistic. There is simple interlaced work in stone in the Church of St. Clement at Rome, at Grado, and at Ravenna, probably belonging to the VI century A.D.² From such examples as these the elaboration of interlacement might well be, directly or indirectly, suggested. But as the Celtic or 'barbarian' artist had done with the germ of the divergent spiral existing in the palmette, so the Irish scribes and workmen made the idea of interlacement their own, working it out into beautiful and sometimes eccentric forms which

¹ See specimens in the British Museum, Traill and Mann, *Social England*, i, pp. 151, 153; and Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 148. An Assyrian bronze bowl, in the British Museum, "ornamented with an interlaced subject, consisting of lions, bears, bulls, and gryphons chasing one another," shews a certain resemblance to the interlaced animals—and men—in Irish decoration, but can hardly have a causal connection with it.

² See *Syrie Centrale*, especially plates 24 and 43, and Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy from the 6th to the 11th Century*, pp. 42, 65, 86. In Italian churches of the VIII and IX centuries, and later, we find elaborate knot-work, much resembling Irish work, e.g., at Cividale, Brescia, and Venice, which is probably due to influence from Ireland, perhaps through the Irish monastery of Bobbio, though it is naturally difficult to say precisely where the back-wave begins. This is confirmed by the appearance of what appears to be the 'triple whirligig' (see p. 66) on a pilaster belonging to the ruined church of Aurona at Milan, of the VIII century. See Cattaneo, pp. 98, 106, 140, 150, 178, 214, 289.

were, to begin with, peculiarly Irish, though England and other countries copied them extensively.¹

In the use of this interlacement the degree of liberty which the artist allows himself varies greatly. Sometimes one or more bands interlace on a comparatively simple plan, and strictly according to certain definite principles in the mind of the artist, according to rules laid down by himself or derived from previous examples;² these patterns have a more or less geometrical appearance, and their order and intelligibility gives them a special charm. In other decoration the scribe, metal-worker, or stone-carver allows himself more freedom; the ornament is still more elaborate, and sometimes can only to a small extent be reduced to rule, though the general result is beautiful and harmonious.

This interlacement may be merely of bands, or it may be formed of living creatures, real or imaginary, not only of snakes and dragon-like creatures, but of quadrupeds and of birds, whose long necks and legs are intertwined; on many pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels³ the ornament chiefly consists of the creatures last named (in many cases at least they are certainly sea-gulls), the plumage being sometimes treated as ornament, sometimes more naturalistically represented; birds are commonly thus used also in the Book of Kells; there is a precisely similar treatment of them on a cross at Twyford, near Athlone. Even men are used in this way in the Book of Kells, and on a cross at Ahenny (or Kilkispeen). These living creatures are often complete, after their kind, if the parts are carefully looked for; sometimes they are not, and not unfrequently a band will end, without apparent reason, in a head.

Animals or parts of them are not used to form interlaced patterns only; sometimes snakes or monsters or birds (or their heads) form a spiral, particularly in the 'whirligig' before referred to—as, for instance, in the Book of Kells, the Lindisfarne Gospels, and on one of the crosses at Ahenny. It is curious—and characteristic of Irish art—that, while animal forms are thus used for decorative purposes for which most of them would not seem readily adapted, there is little use of plant forms in Irish decoration. In the Lindisfarne Gospels there is no distinct

¹ For the theory that the knot-work patterns were developed in England in the VII century see Appendix G, Irish MSS. and the History of Irish Ornament.

² For an analysis of interlaced patterns, see Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part ii, p. 140, etc.

³ For the date of this see Appendix G, Irish MSS. and the History of Irish Ornament.

SOUTH, OR SMALLER CROSS, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 73, 86, 92 ETC.).

VINE-PATTERN AND RUNES ON THE RUTHWELL
CROSS (PP. 73, 86, 219, 222 ETC.).

CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, KILLAMERY (PP. 73, 95).

example;¹ in the Book of Kells there are a few exceptions to the rule, such as the trefoil, star-like flowers, the vine greatly conventionalized (sometimes with trefoil leaves); foliated (or flower-headed) sceptres are held by angels in the Book of Kells, and by a figure placed at the beginning of St. Luke's Gospel² in the book called 'St. Chad's Gospels,' which is in the Cathedral at Lichfield. Upon some of the crosses, however, as upon the perfect cross in the churchyard of Kells and on the smaller cross at Clonmacnois, there appears a vine, conventionally represented, growing more or less in spirals, with birds and animals feeding on the fruit. This particular design, which comes from the south of Europe or the East, may probably have reached Ireland by way of England; about this something will have to be said a little later on.

This does not exhaust the list of ornamental designs. Simple spirals are also used and the chevron; the former perhaps need no derivation in presence of the more elaborate form of the 'trumpet-pattern.' A step-pattern, like a Graeco-Roman mosaic in the British Museum, is common in the Lindisfarne Gospels, for instance, where it is made up of tiny squares, red and blue, just like mosaic—it often assumes the form of a cross; a similar pattern is found upon crosses at Killamery and at Disert O'Dea³ (a figure of the same outline occurs in the Book of Kells—we shall come across much later uses of it). There are also other geometrical patterns, some like mosaic or inlaid work; on the east side of the cross at Killamery much of the ornament is obviously laid out with compasses, and some of that on the base of the west cross at Kilkieran is similar to this. On the western cross at Monasterboice there is some carving almost exactly like the wave-ornament which is common in Greek and Roman work; there is something a good deal like this in the Book of Durrow. These last two instances, with certain varieties of fret-pattern, appear to shew a direct borrowing of classical designs. And such borrowing is most clearly shewn in the Book of Kells, where on a single page there is a figure (probably of our Lord), seated and framed in a way which most distinctly suggests a consular diptych,⁴ while, on each side of the head, vines—with trefoil leaves, but

¹ There are, however, certain details of ornament resembling leaves, *e.g.*, in the 'trumpet-patterns' of the initial letter of St. Luke's Gospel.

² It would be most natural to suppose this to be St. Luke, but for the sceptre and, still more, the cruciform nimbus round the head—unless this is a mere mistake of the artist. It is more probably our Lord, as represented in St. Luke's Gospel.

³ See illustration, Crawford, *A Descriptive List of the early Irish Crosses*, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, June, 1907, p. 239.

⁴ This is illustrated by an ivory diptych (a cast of which is in the South Kensington

bearing grapes—spring out of cups or chalices, as they do, for instance, on the sarcophagus at Milan supposed to be that of Ataulphus (who died in A.D. 415) or of his wife Placidia; upon this vine, in the MS., are perched two birds, obviously peacocks, which were regarded by Christians as a symbol of immortality, their flesh being supposed to be incorruptible; the vine, which was derived from pagan examples, has to a Christian a double symbolic meaning.¹ It should be added that each portion or scheme of ornament in the MSS. as well as on the grave-stones and High Crosses is usually included within lines or mouldings which themselves really form part of the decoration. The representations of men, taken seriously and not as aids to decoration, will more conveniently be spoken of later on. Irish ornament of this early period forms a single whole, though, of course, there are variations in the way in which it is worked out according to the material to be ornamented—parchment, metal, or stone.

PART II.—THE CARVED GRAVE-SLABS, ERECT CROSS-SLABS, AND HIGH CROSSES

It was of course natural that the forms of ornament described above should be used upon grave-slabs; and it will be better, in order to avoid later interruption, first to say a few words about this class of monuments, as a whole. In spite of the terrible loss which has taken place, there is still a large number of them left in various places, by far the largest collection being at Clonmacnois²—most of the carved stones there were intended to lie on the graves, though a certain number were plainly meant to stand upright. The form of epitaph usually is “OROIT

Museum) attributed to the VII century, on which “David Rex” is represented almost exactly like a consul, except that he carries a spear instead of a sceptre in his left hand.

¹ See *Celtic Illuminative Art*, edited by Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, Pl. XV, and Introduction; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, pp. 337, 694, etc.; ii, p. 1585; Cattaneo, as above, p. 89; *British Museum Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, p. 18. De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 45, shews a vine growing out of a vase, and peacocks among vines; this carving he attributes to the VI century; it is only moderately good. There is a similar conjunction on an incised sarcophagus at Vienne, illustrated in Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, Pl. VI, fig. 2, not in a high style of art.

² There is a list, with illustrations, of these in *Clonmacnois, King's County*, Extract from the 75th Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, 1906-1907, and an account of them, with illustrations of all that survive, in *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, by R. A. Stewart Macalister, F.S.A.

A large number of grave-slabs there and elsewhere are copied in Miss Stokes's edition of Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*; many of these have now disappeared. These copies are in general pretty accurate (to judge by those slabs that have been preserved), but are certainly not altogether free from mistakes.

See also papers in *Journal R.S.A.I.* for 1908, pp. 61, etc., and 173, 174.

GRAVE-SLAB OF CUINDLES, CLONMACNOIS.

‘*OR* AR CHUINDLESS.’

(PP. 75, 215, 216.)

GRAVE-SLAB, CLONMACNOIS.

‘*OR* AR GILLAGIARAIN.’

(P. 76.)

GRAVE-SLABS, CLONMACNOIS.

‘*OR* DO MAELMHÍCHÍL.’ ‘*OR* COMGAN.’ ‘DROIT [A]R FERDAMNACH.

(PP. 75, 77.)

‘*OR* DO THUATHAL.’

To face p. 74

(abbreviated *ōR*) DO (or AR) " and the name; *i.e.* "A Prayer for"—So and so; sometimes there is the name alone. Seldom, unfortunately, is any title or patronymic added, by which the identity of the person commemorated, and his date, might be certainly fixed; the fact that the stones which survive must be very few indeed compared with the number lost of course makes identification by the mere name (at least if this is a common one) still more precarious; since the person of that name, mentioned elsewhere, upon whom we fix may have been commemorated on a *lost* stone. Thus anything like a complete chronological arrangement of these slabs and their designs—with an approach to certainty—is difficult or impossible. On some the short inscription is the principal thing, though a small cross may be connected with this. But, in the great majority of those that remain, a cross, more or less elaborate, is the predominant feature. In many instances it is of the 'Celtic' form. We have already seen that the cross over the doorway at Fore is enclosed in a circle; there are also examples of this on stone in Inismurray, as well as at Clonmacnois and elsewhere. This is common in France and Italy, as well as in Central Syria—the circle was originally a wreath;¹ if the arms and head are prolonged beyond the ring, we get the 'Celtic' cross, which may, of course, be elaborated and ornamented in various ways. The grave-stone of Cuindles (probably of the abbot who died about 720), and that of Ferdomhnach² (perhaps of about

¹ See De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 62, etc.; Cattaneo, p. 31; Wakeman, *Inismurray*, pp. 63, 65, 66, etc., and *Clonmacnois, King's County*, p. 15.

In some crosses on Inismurray and in one which is close to the oratory at Gallarus the stem alone passes through the circle, forming a Latin Cross. This may be considered a 'half-way house' to the 'Celtic' cross. On a stone at Dalkey the arms and head of a Latin cross do not pass beyond the ring; this cross, however, has ornaments of concentric circles above and below, which may here have caused the preservation of this early form. See O'Reilly, *The Christian Sepulchral Læcs and Free-standing Crosses of the Dublin Half-barony of Rathdown*, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1901, p. 148. For the various shapes assumed by the cross in Ireland, see two papers in the *Journal R.S.A.I.* vol. for 1891-2, pp. 346, etc., and 350, etc., one by Graves, *Similar Forms of the Christian Cross found on Ancient Monuments in Egypt and Ireland*, the other by Wakeman, *On the Earlier Forms of Inscribed Christian Crosses found in Ireland*; also *A Descriptive List of the Early Irish Crosses*, already referred to. These forms are simply bewildering in their variety, and only a few of them can be dealt with in the text, representing what seem to be the main lines of development, leading to the best works of Irish art.

² "724. Cuindles Abb. Clu. m. nois obiit." *Annals of Tigernach* in O'Conor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*. The *Annals of the Four Masters* place his death in 720, the *Annals of Ulster* in 723, and the *Annals of Clonmacnois* in 722 A.D. See also note added to Appendix G.

Feardomhnach, or Ferdomhnach, Abbot of Clonmacnois, died in 870 according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*; in 871 according to the *Annals of Ulster* (ante-dated by one year); in 872 according to the *Chronicum Scotorum*.

A.D. 870), both at Clonmacnois, shew fully-developed crosses of this kind. Another form of cross which is no doubt related to this is that in which there is a circle at the intersection of the arms through which the arms do not shew, and each arm ends in a half circle; or there may be a square instead of the circle, while the semi-circles are replaced by rectangles. It is interesting to find the two forms last described on small slabs "found at the heads of skeletons in the burial ground of the convent of St. Hilda, Hartlepool," about 150 yards from the ancient church of St. Hilda.¹ The double monastery there, to which they no doubt belong, was founded about A.D. 645,² and the close connection with Ireland was to a large extent severed after the Synod of Whitby in 664; this would suggest a very respectable antiquity for the origin of these forms of cross, which, particularly that with circles and semi-circles, long continued in use, and this shape was found to admit of excellent ornamentation and elaboration. Both the form with the circle and semicircular (or, in this and other instances, bell-shaped) terminations and that with rectangles occur in the Lindisfarne Gospels.³ The stone of "Suibine M̃ Mailæhumai," "Anchorite and Scribe of Cluainmic-Nois," is no longer to be found there; his death is mentioned at or about the year 892 not only by the Irish annalists but in the *Annales Cambriae*, by Florence of Worcester, and in one of the Saxon chronicles, which calls him "the best teacher that there was among the Scots" (*i.e.* Irish),⁴ and thus the approximate date of the stone is unquestionable. It is—or was—greatly elaborated, with fret or spiral ornament in the large semicircular terminations of the arms as well as in the central circle. The cross on the late grave-slab of Becgan, at Clonfert, has different ornament, but a similar outline. Perhaps, however, the most effective variety is that in which the lines or low mouldings bordering the cross are looped at the corners, and the centre is filled with the 'whirligig'—the triple (or quadruple) spiral already mentioned, as on the grave-slab of Gillachiarain; such crosses appear to have been very common in the XI century.

¹ See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, ii, p. 1979; Haverfield and Greenwell, *A Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham*, pp. 93, 94; and *The Victoria History of the County of Durham*, i, pp. 212, 213. Some of these slabs are in the British Museum, one is at Durham.

² Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 23.

³ Here they are double towards the foot, the cross being stilted, see below.

⁴ Florence of Worcester, 892 ("the true year," O'Donovan says); *Annals of the Four Masters*, 887; *Annals of Ulster*, 890; *Chronicum Scotorum*, 891; *Annales Cambriae*, 889; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (K), 891. The drawing of the stone is from Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, edited by Miss Stokes, i, Pl. XXXI, fig. 82.

To turn back from these late examples, the cross of Tuathal¹ has the ends of each arm curving back in spirals, and there are other examples of similar treatment, which is also seen in the very rough cross incised upon the pillar-stone with the alphabet at Kilmalkedar, upon stones on Inismurray, and on that at Kilnasaggart;² similar ornamentation of crosses is found in Italy (where it was probably derived from Greece), for instance, on the sarcophagus of Archbishop Gratosus (who died in 788) in the Church of S. Apollinaris, near Ravenna.³ Crosses are very often hollowed out at the intersection of the arms, and sometimes this forms their only elaboration.

There are a good many instances where the cross is enclosed in a rectangular frame; this may be plain or may form an ornamented border, usually of a simple key-pattern, and the cross (generally Greek in shape) may be elaborated and adorned in various ways. Many of such grave-slabs appear to have been carved at Clonmacnois in the second half of the VIII century;⁴ there is one of a Bishop Dathal, who, since the name is exceedingly rare, may probably be the "bishop, scribe and anchorite" who died in 817;⁵ another *may* possibly belong to the Arttri whose principality was not far away, and who was killed in 827;⁶ but the name is not at all uncommon. The cross of Berechtuir of A.D. 839, already mentioned (which bears a Latin inscription—a very unusual thing in Ireland—asking a prayer for him), is a very curious combination of a Greek and Latin cross; arms of equal length are terminated with incised lines curling outwards in spirals, but the lower arm is stilted on an additional limb similarly terminated; there are crosses in Scotland shewing a somewhat similar compromise;⁷ it also occurs in

¹ "809 (recté 814). Tuathal, scribe, wise man and doctor, of Clonmacnois died."—*Annals of the Four Masters*, edited by O'Donovan. See Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, i, p. 25. But the name is a common one, and the identification most uncertain.

² See illustrations in Wakeman, *Inismurray*, pp. 77, 98, 99, 142, 150; and Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, Pl. XIX, fig. 38; also i, Pl. XX, fig. 51, and ii, Pl. XXVI, fig. 55.

³ See Cattaneo, p. 200, etc.; also p. 176.

⁴ See argument in Macalister, as above, p. 103, etc.; though the date given for Tuathgal there appears to be a slip.

⁵ *Annals of Ulster*. The entry does not connect him with Clonmacnois, nor with any other place.

⁶ *Chronicum Scotorum*. "826. [Mortal] wounding of Arttri, son of Muirghes, King of Teabhtha." "Teabhtha, Teathbha, or Tephta (Teffia), a territory comprising portions of the present counties of Longford and Westmeath" (Hennessy's note).

⁷ For instance, on stones which were at Skinnet, near Thurso, and at Ulbster, near Wick; see Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii, pp. 30-35.

the Lindisfarne Gospels. Most of the surface of this cross is decorated with key-patterns, incised, but the circle at the intersection has round the inside of it a ring of interlaced work in relief; in the spaces between the arms are circles filled with a curious combination of spiral and key-ornament. Other crosses are formed wholly of interlaced or strap-work. A large and most admirable slab at Glendalough (now in 'St. Kevin's House') should be mentioned, which deviates widely from any common type; it is ornamented with a most artistic arrangement of incised circles connected by lines running diagonally, so as to suggest a very elaborate St. Andrew's Cross, a complex version of that on the under side of the lintel of St. Mary's Church near by.

I am afraid that the description given above is by no means adequate to suggest the great variety which these grave-slabs exhibit even though many of them can, roughly, be referred to certain types, which often seem to borrow from or overlap one another; the grave-stone of Aigide, at Durrow, has a cross of a very curious composite design. These slabs seldom shew any animal forms; but that of Oidacan at Fuerty, Co. Roscommon, has a fish cut on it—probably the very early Christian symbol (fish are also not unfrequently represented in the Book of Kells).¹ And one or two worms, or monsters, occur on the stones. In their general avoidance of such subjects and in many other respects, the grave-slabs, though of course they, like the High Crosses, use Irish ornamentation and though the shapes of the cross are often similar in both, had a development for the most part differing widely from that shewn in the carving of the High or Standing Crosses.

Leger-stones of course continued to be used for graves beyond the period with which we are now more particularly concerned. Some of these are transitional; a stone at Clonmacnois (for instance) combines one of the old forms of cross with later foliated ornament.² And there are in Ireland plenty of Gothic slabs and stone coffin-lids, many of them excellent; the cross with seven arms (or eight, counting the stem) is a specially good design, and, beginning late in the Middle Ages, outlasts that period.

Strange as it may appear when we compare the two classes of monuments, the High Crosses are the descendants of the standing-

¹ See Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, Pl. VIII, fig. 14, and *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 417. On the Cross of Patrick and Columba at Kells there are on one side two fish above the intersection of the arms, and the loaves and fishes on a cross at Moone Abbey. Fish are carved on the canopy of the font at Cividale in Friuli, of A.D. 737; see Cattaneo, p. 103, etc.

² See *Clonmacnois, King's County*, Pl. XXXI, fig. 204.

GRAVE-SLAB OF SUIBHNE, CLONMACNOIS.
'SUIBHNE ^S MAILÆHUMAL'
(P. 76.)

GRAVE-SLAB AT DURROW.
'OR DO AIGHIU.'
(P. 78.)

GRAVE-SLAB AT CLONMACNOIS.
'MUIRGALAE.'
(P. 77.)

GRAVE-STONE OF BECGAN,
CLONFERT.
'BECGÁN.'
(P. 76.)

GRAVE-SLAB AND PART OF HIGH CROSS, CLONMACNOIS. 'ARTTRI' (PP. 77, 215; 94).

STONE COFFIN-LIDS OUTSIDE THE BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY (PP. 78, 188).

To face p. 78

stones, pillar-stones, or *gallauns*—the roughest and most primitive efforts of Irish architecture—though they doubtless also owe something to the wooden crosses commonly set up in early Christian times. Standing-stones were commemorative of persons—as in the case of Dathi's pillar at Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon—and marked boundaries, like those forming a ring around the cairn at Newgrange, and the "Stone of the Divisions" at Ushnagh, Co. Westmeath, where the four Irish provinces met. Whether or not some of the pillar-stones were used as idols, they certainly had a religious character, something of which in certain cases is (or was until quite recent times) still attached to some of them.¹ When Ireland was becoming Christian, it was natural that such stones, where they already existed, should be exorcised or consecrated by cutting a cross on them, as St. Patrick is recorded to have done.² And in order to commemorate a saint or other Christian of position, it was quite natural that such a pillar-stone, with a cross cut upon it, should be set up, as also to mark sacred boundaries. Of the former use we have already seen an example above the grave of St. Manchan, near Kilmalkedar, while the oblong stone, with a cross cut on it, standing to the west of Temple MacDuach on Aranmore, is in all probability an instance of the latter—as are probably some of those on Inismurray.

The stones may be thick, nearly or quite square on plan, or they may be slabs. The cross may be incised, or it may stand up in relief from the stone, as at Glendalough, near Trinity Church, and at Clondalkin; in this latter instance the stone is itself roughly T-shaped, to match. An inscription may be added to a commemorative stone (whether over a grave or otherwise), like the request for a prayer for Murchad—upon the reverse side from the cross—on the miniature pillar-stone (about a foot high) on Inismurray;³ the cross may, of course, be elaborated and ornamented, and the ornament upon the stone need not be confined to the cross; already in pre-Christian times some pillar-

¹ See Wakeman, *Handbook of Irish Antiquities*, p. 7, etc., also Genesis, xxviii, 18, 22.

² See Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick*, etc. (*Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*), i, p. 137: "Patrick went eastward to Lecc Finn where he made a cross in the stone over Cell Mór Óctair Muaide ('the great church of the Upper Moy') to the west; but Lia na Manach ('the Monks' Stone') is its name to-day," etc.

There is a rough standing-stone near Ford, at the end of Loch Awe, having a cross, with open ends, incised upon it. See Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii, p. 403.

³ See illustrations in Wakeman, *Inismurray*, pp. 86, 87, and in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1903, pp. 82, 83. There is a memorial nearly as small, but with a cross upon each face, on *Eilean Naomh*, 1 foot 9½ inches high by 8¾ inches broad.

stones were decorated with carving—those, for instance, at Mullaghmast and Turoe. The one last named has its Christian counterpart in a stone standing outside the ruined church of Conwal, near Letterkenny, carved in relief above with a cross formed of two bands interlacing, and below with key and spiral ornament. West of the church at Glencolumbkille, near the west coast of Donegal, is a standing-stone, having on its eastern side a strangely shaped double cross in key-pattern; upon the western side (which is more weathered) there is also what has plainly been a double or triple cross, combining key-pattern with very simple interlacement.¹ From such stones as this the whole family of those carved only on the surface might be derived, however great their elaboration, including those carved cross-slabs which are found in Scotland. It was, however, a natural improvement to cut away parts of the stone, so that, whether or not surface ornament was added, its outline might represent, or at least suggest, the cross. But the tendency to this must have been increased if crosses of wood were erected from early Christian times in Ireland and its ecclesiastical colonies.

And this appears, as was natural, to have been the case. St. Patrick “used to dismount from his chariot and turn aside to pray at all the crosses that he saw.” The cross is mentioned as the mark of a Christian’s grave in, or before, his time.² Crosses were set up in Iona, in St. Columba’s time, to commemorate events.³ St. Oswald, who had learnt his Christianity from Iona, set up a cross to serve as a rallying-point for his army before the battle of Hefenfelth.⁴ This last was certainly of wood; and, where carpentry was so far in advance of stonework as it certainly was in the time of St. Columba as well as of St. Patrick, it is likely that the crosses mentioned in connection with these Saints should also, at all events for the most part, have been of wood (some of these were probably ornamented or elaborated, in ways which may well have been copied in stone). Partly, no doubt, from the example of these, the cross shaped out of stone would naturally follow, and we may perhaps judge what the early efforts in this direction were like from such

¹ For the shape of these compare illustrations, Wakeman, *Inismurray*, pp. 111, 130.

² Whitley Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, etc., ii, p. 293, and pp. 294, 325.

³ Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, i, 45; iii, 23. See also the *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, etc., ii, p. 276.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Ecl.*, iii, 2. Bede notices that this was the first cross set up in Bernicia.

Some of the crosses cut on grave-slabs have points at the bottom, which suggests that they are more or less copies of wooden crosses—to be stuck in the ground, like posts—though the point becomes merely ornamental. See Macalister, as above, figs. 26, 29, 97, 108, 112. (Petrie’s drawing of the ‘Cuindles’ stone omits the point.)

CROSS OUTSIDE PRESENT CHURCHYARD, GARTAN
(PP. 80, 81, 93, 94)

STONE AT GLENCOLUMBKILL (P. 80).

CROSSES AND WEST END OF CHURCH, KILMALKEDAR
(PP. 81; 104).

CROSS AT KILMARTIN (P. 81).

To face p. 80

crosses as those which have marked the boundaries of the holy ground outside the churches of Gartan in Co. Donegal, where St. Columb was born. The two kinds of upright cross, that is, the slab on which the cross was cut or raised, with greater or less ornamentation or with none at all, and the stone which is itself in the shape of a cross seem to have developed to some extent independently, the former kind having the start of the latter. On Inismurray cross-inscribed slabs or pillars, some of them considerably elaborated, appear to have been used exclusively. The cross at Clondalkin, mentioned above, and the slab bearing on each side a cross of excellent interlaced work carved on its surface, while the arms are just indicated in the outline of the stone, which stands in the churchyard of Fahan Mura, Co. Donegal,¹ shew a compromise between the two classes (at Fahan there are on one side of the slab two human figures under the arm of the cross, inartistically carved, in very low relief). On Inishail, in Loch Awe, the arms of the cross are but little more marked in the outline of the stone, but are indicated by carving, they and the stem standing up in relief; while at Kilmartin, between Loch Crinan and Loch Awe, on a slab of similar shape, the ornament—key-pattern, interlacement, and spirals—follows the outline of the stone on one side, and on the other is carved upon a raised panel whose sides are parallel to this; both these crosses are in a very Irish part of Scotland. The Irish crosses with tall heads and short side-arms, such as we find plain on the Skelligs and at Kilmalkedar and ornamented at Kilkieran, appear also to be very closely related to the pillar-stone.

The monuments in the more easterly, or north-easterly, parts of Scotland are, for the most part, cross-slabs; they have the cross on one side, but, however deeply and elaborately they may be ornamented, they are not cut through—they would throw no cross-shaped shadow. Their ornament bears a good deal of resemblance to that of Ireland,² from whence the inhabitants got their Christianity, but a large number of Scottish cross-slabs have marked peculiarities of their own, particularly

¹ See also in Crawford's *Descriptive List of Irish Crosses*, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, pp. 212, 214, crosses at Monasterkieran and on St. Macdara's Island, Co. Galway; possibly surface-carving might have been intended on the former but not executed. For the slab from the Fahan beyond Dingle see Appendix H, The cross-slab from Fahan in the Dingle Peninsula.

² There is, for instance, at Dunblane a slab bearing on one side a deeply-cut cross very closely resembling Irish work in its shape and in its ornament, and men, animals, and small crosses on the other side. It should, however, be added that there are early monuments near Whithorn, or *Candida Casa*, connected with St. Ninian, who lived about 400 A.D.—pillars and slabs bearing, incised, the cruciform monogram or crosses (enclosed in circles) and inscriptions. See Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii, pp. 315, etc., 494, 496 etc., 502 etc.

in the use of strange symbols, such as those known as the 'Elephant' and the 'Spectacle-ornament.' The part of Scotland in which such cross-slabs most predominate roughly corresponds to the kingdom of the Picts, as opposed to that of the Scots or Irish and to that southern part which was at one time English. It is of course conceivable that this preference for the cross-bearing slab should have been due to racial taste; but we have seen indications that the ornamenting of the stone's surface is, in its start, earlier than the shaping of its outline into a cross, and therefore it seems at least possible that the former fashion should have become fixed in Scotland (the examples of stone-carving of this kind seeming worthy of imitation rather than any rough attempts that there may have been at shaping crosses in stone) before "the driving out of the family of I across the backbone of Britain by King Nectan"¹ in (or about) the year 717, when I, Hy, or Iona lost so much of its spiritual sphere of influence and a large part of Scotland was more or less cut off from any close connection with later Irish art. In Iona, which was for so long a kind of outpost of Ireland, and in the part of Scotland connected with it we get shaped crosses corresponding closely with the later developments in Ireland, and this correspondence lasts—in some measure—down to a much later period.²

It would no doubt be conceivable that the Irish High Cross, as we find it developed and ornamented, for instance at Ahenny (or Kilkispeen), should have been developed gradually—the stone being cut through to give the outline, and the ornament more deeply carved than before. But even for the deep cutting it would be more likely that there should have been some inspiration from outside,³ and something of this kind is almost necessary to account for such crosses as

¹ See Reeves, Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, pp. 184, 381, and Tighernach's *Annals*, in O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*. In the *Chronicum Scotorum* there is a similar entry under the year 713.

² Thus St. Martin's Cross and some other fragments bear a close resemblance to Irish High Crosses of about the X century, and so does the cross at Kildalton on Islay; the later crosses of the West of Scotland, such as Maclean's Cross on Iona, the head of a small very late one 'with Mary and John' found there built into the walls of a house, the Oransay Cross, and a cross on Inch Kenneth are cross-shaped, but the arms project from a solid wheel covering their intersection—as on one kind of grave-slab which we have noticed, and in some Irish High Crosses (see Crawford's *Descriptive List of Irish Crosses, Journal, R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 228, and 1909, p. 60); upon the cross on Inch Kenneth the arms and a circle round them are suggested by cutting down parts of the wheel, which is not cut through, much as at Graiguenamanagh, Ullard, and St. Mullins in Ireland. There is much information about the whole subject of Scottish Crosses and Cross-slabs in Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, and Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.

³ Parker (*Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for

CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, GRAIGUENAMANAGH
(PP. 82 NOTH, 93).

NORTH-EAST CROSS, KILKIERAN (PP. 81, 94).

CROSS AT FAHAN MURA (P. 81).

ST. MARTIN'S CROSS, IONA, WEST SIDE (PP. 82 NOTE, 91 NOTE).

the west cross at Clonmacnois, the crosses at Durrow and Kells and two of those at Monasterboice, which are almost covered with figures (having a serious and not a merely ornamental intention) for the most part grouped in panels; the figures in the MSS. (though these no doubt had their influence) would hardly have suggested making these a principal, and sometimes the almost exclusive ornamentation of a cross—though they were certainly not meant merely for ornament.

Now in the districts which formed the ancient kingdom of Northumbria (including of course the southern part of Scotland), and in smaller numbers outside this, there remain a good many crosses more or less complete and fragments of many others, besides sculpture of similar character which never formed part of a cross. When we remember the position in which many of these fragments have been found, built into houses or—with that vandalism which was at least not less prevalent in the Middle Ages than at other times—into the foundations or the walls of churches,¹ it becomes quite plain that these must represent but a small proportion of the crosses which once existed. These crosses are ornamented with figures in panels, often in high relief; with vines running in spirals, sometimes with birds or animals feeding on the fruit; and with knot-work, like that used in Ireland. The carving of the figures is in some examples of quite extraordinary excellence—for the time, and in some cases no such allowance need be made; the figure of our Lord on the Bewcastle Cross is of much dignity; the panel below (representing Alcfrith) reminds one of a late Roman bas-relief; it is plain that this work, and in some cases the carving of the vine, are not remotely connected with late survivals of classical art, and they are altogether startling when found in a corner of Europe and dating from a time when sculpture was in general at a very low ebb. On the other hand they seem (even apart from their knot-work) to be nearly connected with the Irish commemorative pillar-stone; the shaft appears not merely designed to carry the cross, but is a most important part of the monument—more so, in proportion, than in the later Irish crosses, where the cross-part is not merely a crown but an integral part of the design.

February, 1864, p. 161), says, "We have no sculpture of raised figures deeply cut which can be proved by any good evidence to be earlier than the XII century or the end of the XI, either in England or France." As a matter of fact, sculpture of this kind which can be proved to be of an earlier date exists (as will be seen) in England as well as in Ireland, but in both cases, if we look at the general condition of the art in Europe, this is exceptional and needs accounting for.

¹ See Haverfield and Greenwell, *A Catalogue of the Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in the Cathedral Library, Durham*, part ii, *Anglian Sculptured Stones*, especially pp. 44, 58, and 91.

Besides interlacement, some key-ornament is to be found on them, and spirals, sometimes interlocked, but not in the form of the divergent spiral or 'trumpet-pattern,' the use of which was in England (for whatever reason) confined to MSS. The figure-sculpture appears to have maintained its high level but for a short time—in the later crosses it is often feeble and even grotesque; some of these shew Scandinavian influence, even, curiously enough, representing scenes from Norse mythology; some are certainly as late as the XI century.¹

The Bewcastle Cross must have been set up soon after A.D. 670, the Ruthwell Cross perhaps a little later, and the Acca Cross in all probability soon after 740, all these (and many other similar pieces of sculpture now existing in fragments—or not at all) having been the work of artists from the south of Europe or the East, in whom the classical tradition was still alive, or of their English pupils, who worked upon, elaborated and glorified the Celtic pillar-stone.² The proofs shewing the origin and date of the earliest and best examples of this sculpture are so strong in themselves and give each other so much mutual support that no considerations of probability (if such there were) could shake the conclusion to which they lead.

On the other hand, though the Irish crosses, carved with figures, which can be dated are few, the evidence is sufficient to give at all events a general indication of the period to which such crosses belong. The letters on the base of the west cross at Clonmacnois are now much ruined by weather, but there seems to be no reasonable ground for doubt that the inscription records the erection of the cross by Flann, king of Ireland, who died in (or about) 915, and Colman, abbot of Clonmacnois, who died in (or about) 925.³ These two also built the stone

¹ More precisely between 995 and 1083; for proof of this see Greenwell, *Anglian Sculptured Stones*, pp. 90, 91. For the Scandinavian influence see the same work, p. 47, and Calverley, *Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines, and Monuments in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 138 etc.

² There are crosses in the diocese of Carlisle, for instance at Casterton, Addingham, and Rockcliff, in which the outline of the cross is cut out incompletely or not at all—they are (like some of those described above) very closely related to the pillar-stone. But, considering the unfriendly relations which at first existed between the British Church and the English, and the close connection between England and Ireland, it seems much more probable that the Northumbrian English derived this kind of monument—in the main, at least—from their Irish teachers. See *The Victoria History of Cumberland*, i, p. 263, and Calverley, *Early Sculptured Crosses*, etc., pp. 3, 97, and 257. The proof of the source and date of the early Anglian carving is given in Appendix J, The Date of certain Northumbrian Crosses; see also Appendix G.

³ See Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, i, 42-44; and Westropp, *A Description of the Ancient Buildings and Crosses at Clonmacnois, King's County*, in *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 291, etc.

church of the monastery; the lowest panel on the east face of the cross seems to represent the setting up of a cross by a cleric and a warrior; it is quite unlikely that this can refer to the erection of the stone cross, or to the commencement of a stone church contemporary with the cross; but, whatever the panel represents, the dress will naturally be that of the time when the cross and the church were erected.¹ The armour of the soldiers guarding the Sepulchre, as represented on the cross, is, I am told on high authority, thoroughly consistent with the date given, as the dress of the chiefs or kings, with their great brooches, also appears to be.² Altogether there seems to be no doubt that the cross was carved within a few years of A.D. 900.

The shorter of the two highly ornamented crosses at Monasterboice asks a prayer for Muireadhach, 'by whom the cross was made.' One abbot of Monasterboice, bearing that name, died in (or about) 844, and another in (or about) 924. The former seems to have been merely abbot and nothing beyond; the latter was, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, also "Tanist Abbot of Armagh, and Chief Steward of the Southern Hy Neill"—in the *Annals of the Four Masters* he holds a similarly high position.³ One would naturally suppose that the man of greater position and wealth would be more able to erect such a cross and also would be anxious to commemorate himself on it, most of these crosses being quite anonymous, and the analogy of the Clonmacnois cross would incline one to place this too at about the same date; but it is not always the richest or the most eminent men who have set up the finest works of art; and in general the evidence for the later date does not amount to more than a rather high degree of probability.⁴

One Irish cross then, ornamented—almost exclusively—with figure-sculpture deeply cut, in panels, belongs to the early part of the X century; another in which similar figure-carving predominates may probably be of much the same date. Further, with the Clonmacnois cross others appear to be very closely connected, not only in style but in the subjects which they represent; the panels on the west face of the cross at Durrow are almost identical with those on the corresponding face

¹ See Appendix K.

² *Clonmacnois, King's County*, p. 7. For the opinion on the armour I am indebted to Mr. Guy F. Laking, F.S.A., Keeper of the King's Armoury. For the history see *Annals of the Four Masters*, 904, 914 and 924; *Annals of Ulster*, 915, 925; *Chronicum Scotorum*, 908, 915, 925; *Annals of Clonmacnois*, 901, 921 A.D.

³ *Annals of Ulster*, 845, 923 A.D.; *Annals of the Four Masters*, 844, 922, 924 A.D.; Petrie and Stokes, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, pp. 66, 67.

⁴ The name Muireadhach is a very common one, so that it is of course possible that the cross was set up by neither of the two mentioned.

of the dated cross at Clonmacnois; the panel of the soldiers sitting over the Sepulchre on these crosses has its close parallel upon the cross in the market-place of Kells (Co. Meath); and in their ornament, in their general mode of representing scenes, and particularly in their representations of the Crucifixion and of Christ in Glory, the cross at Clonmacnois already mentioned, and the cross at Durrow have others more or less closely related to them, such as the taller cross at Monasterboice, and the cross *Patricii et Columbe* at Kells. All those named above belong to one school of art, and seem to be not so very far removed from each other in date.

What is the relation between these and the Northumbrian crosses? One thing is certain—that the Anglian figure-carving is not derived from Ireland; the dates ascertained for the English and indicated for the Irish crosses make this impossible, and the records (as well as analogy) point to a totally different source for the work executed in England. The question then is whether the Irish carving of figure-panels on crosses was in any way suggested by the corresponding use in England. It is, of course, not *à priori* impossible that this form of ornament should, by a coincidence, have been applied to the Standing Cross independently in the two countries. But the nearness of England to Ireland and the amount of intercourse between them (shewn, for instance, in the notice of Suibhne of Clonmacnois in the English Chronicle, in Alcuin's letter to the same great monastery, and by other indications) must have made the Irish aware of the existence and general character of such crosses as those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell and their later successors, which must then have been so numerous in England, particularly in Northumbria. But, though such crosses probably served as an inspiration to Irish sculptors when they were prepared for such ambitious attempts, the connection—or the debt—must not be exaggerated; the Irish of the IX or X century used the example with the greatest freedom, as their predecessors had used the classical palmette and interlacement and as their successors were to treat later architectural ornament, and their borrowing in detail seems to have been, in the main, from other sources than England. All that they copied from Northumbria appears to have been the general plan of carving raised figures in panels; probably the vine with birds and animals feeding on it (as upon the smaller cross at Clonmacnois and the cross *Patricii et Columbe* at Kells); perhaps the rope-moulding (though they might easily have found the two last elsewhere); and possibly the scene of St. Paul and St. Antony, the Hermits, breaking the loaf in the desert, which is found on the Ruthwell Cross and on a good many Irish crosses,

THE BEWCASTLE CROSS FROM THE SOUTH-WEST
(PP. 83 ETC., 215, 216 ETC.).

THE RUTHWELL CROSS (PP. 83 ETC., 222 ETC.).

SOUTH-EASTERN CROSS, MONASTERBOICE, WEST FACE
(PP. 83, 85, 87 ETC., 95, 225).

WEST CROSS, MONASTERBOICE, WEST FACE
(PP. 83, 87 ETC., 95).

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IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ARCHITECTURE

of the dated cross at Clonmacnois; the panel of the soldiers' cross over the Sepulchre on these crosses has its close parallel in the market-place of Kells (Co. Meath); and in their representations of representing scenes, and particularly the Crucifixion and of Christ in Glory, the Clonmacnois already mentioned, and the cross at Durrow more or less closely related to them, such as the taller cross at Asterboice, and the cross *Patricii et Columbe* at Kells. All above belong to one school of art, and seem to be removed from each other in date.

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WEST FACE OF WEST CROSS, AND CHIMNEY OVER SACRISTY, CLONMACNOIS
(pp. 84 ETC., 88 ETC., 93 ETC.; 43).

DURROW CROSS, EAST FACE (PP. 86, 95).

WEST FACE OF WEST CROSS, AND CHIMNEY OVER SACRINTY, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 84 ETC., 88 ETC., 93 ETC.; 43).

for instance, at Castledermot and Moone Abbey. The style of carving on the Irish crossesshews no signs of being derived from that on the crosses in Northumbria—it is altogether unlike the best specimens of this; the representation of the Crucifixion is in general unlike; and that of Christ in Glory which often stands on the other side of the Irish cross has no close parallel upon English crosses.

And certainly, as regards their shape, the Irish High Crosses (such as those mentioned above) are anything but a mere copy of the Anglian crosses. The latter (generally, at all events) suggest a pillar-stone surmounted by a cross, whereas the Irish cross has been independently developed or evolved further—the cross-part (usually with the ring) being an integral portion of the whole—even though it has, in certain particulars, imitated its English relation; both have ultimately a common ancestor in the pillar-stone. The difference is specially apparent when one compares the two in a maimed condition; the English form, when it has lost the cross-part, as at Bewcastle, having a much less incomplete appearance than an Irish cross in the same condition, when it strikes one as a mere stump.

The style of the Irish figure-carving (as above suggested) is very different from that shewn in the Anglian crosses, which was due to most exceptional causes. These Irish figures seem to be the work of men possessing technical skill, but with a natural aptitude and taste rather for ornamental patterns (in which they are altogether excellent) than for producing representations of living things, whether plants, animals, or men—their MSS. shew the same traits.

It must, of course, be remembered that most of these crosses are of sandstone: thus, particularly in the softer varieties of this material, something must be allowed for loss through the weather to which these monuments have been exposed, often for something like a thousand years. Yet at Bewcastle and at Ruthwell, where the crosses are also of sandstone, and of still greater age, the figures of Christ, in spite of this, retain much majesty and beauty, and the cross of Muireadhach at Monasterboice has obviously lost little by wear. It may then fairly be judged that the figure-sculpture of these crosses never rose above mediocrity, though sometimes, as upon bases and on the larger cross at Clonmacnois, it shews a certain vigour; other instances are inferior to these; and sometimes, as at Moone Abbey and Castledermot, in part probably owing to the perverseness of the granite used, and elsewhere, as at Graiguenamanagh, without such excuse, it sinks to grotesqueness. But, since the object was rather to suggest the subjects than to depict them realistically, this was a matter of less moment. The want of art in

their representation (which has plenty of more or less contemporary parallels in England and abroad) did not prevent them from being—like the “Cross of the Scriptures”¹ at Clonmacnois—epitomes of the Christian religion.

As to the probable sources from which the representations were, directly or indirectly, derived in detail, this subject is large and complicated, and samples and suggestions are all that can here be given. In the usual Irish representation of the Crucifixion the soldiers bearing the sponge and spear appear together, corresponding to each other on the right and left sides—before our Lord’s death, shewing clearly that no realistic picture is intended; there is no crown of thorns; St. Mary and St. John are (usually) absent; angels are often placed on each side of Christ’s head.² This is very much like an ivory plaque of Italian work belonging to the X century, a copy of which is in the South Kensington Museum; other ivories (or casts from them) there or in the British or the Dublin Museum, of about the same date, shew a rather less close resemblance, as does also a picture in a Syrian MS. of A.D. 586. Our Lord in Glory, holding the cross and sceptre, bears a general resemblance to the picture, probably of our Lord, in ‘St. Chad’s Gospels’: the treatment of this subject, which comes in so excellently on a number of the most elaborate crosses, appears to be distinctly Irish.³ The arrest of Christ (as on the larger cross at Clonmacnois) is a good deal like the picture of the same scene in the Book of Kells; it also resembles one in the Gospels (of a date before 850) preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. And these seem to have their prototypes in the representations of this scene, or of the arrest of St. Peter or of St. Paul (which is a similar composition), upon sarcophagi at Rome or in France.⁴ The representation of Daniel between two lions takes us back, through the sarcophagi, to the early pictures in the Catacombs; there are also instances of this scene (given by Le

¹ A cross thus named is mentioned at Clonmacnois in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 1060, and is in all probability the western cross there. A good many Irish crosses would be at least as well entitled to the name.

² Reminding one somewhat of the angels belonging to the lost rood at Bradford-on-Avon. On the south-eastern cross at Monasterboice and the unfinished cross at Kells they hold up our Lord’s head. For the absence of St. Mary and St. John, and exceptions to this, see Appendix L, St. Mary and St. John in Irish representations of the Crucifixion.

³ It bears, however, a curious (but possibly quite accidental) resemblance to the mosaic, ascribed to the middle of the V century, on the cupola of the Chapel of St. Satiro, at St. Ambrogio, Milan, which represents St. Victor, Martyr. See illustration, *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, ii, p. 1335.

⁴ See J. W. Appell, *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, pp. 9, 16; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, ii, pp. 1866-1868; Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, pl. XII, fig. 1.

NORTH CROSS, AHENNY (PP. 68 ETC., 86, 87, 92 ETC.).

SOUTH CROSS, AHENNY (PP. 68 ETC., 86, 87, 92 ETC.).

BASE OF WEST CROSS, KILKIERAN (PP. 73, 92, 94).

To face p. 88

Blant) on late sarcophagi which shew the down-grade in the representation of the scene and still more nearly approach one of the Irish types.¹

The Fall—with Adam and Eve standing on each side of a tree round which a serpent is coiled—is practically invariable (in its usual treatment) in Christian art from the first.²

The representation of the Baptism of Christ on the mutilated cross in the churchyard at Kells is a good deal like a simplified version of a panel from an ivory casket attributed to the XI century, in the South Kensington Museum—the double source of the Jordan conventionally represented on the cross is also indicated in a miniature at Turin, where they are labelled respectively as 'Yor' and 'Dan.'³ The scene suggesting the Resurrection, as on the western cross at Clonmacnois, the cross at Durrow, and on that in the market-place at Kells and on the taller cross at Monasterboice—the soldiers leaning upon or over the Sepulchre (and asleep)—appears to be very freely adapted from such representations as that on an ivory buckle at Arles, said to be of a date before 542; it is only a little less like an ivory panel of the early V century in the British Museum and a leaf of an ivory diptych in Milan Cathedral, probably of the IX or X century, casts of which are in the Dublin and South Kensington Museums,⁴ but the form of the tomb is simplified (no doubt in accordance with tombs familiar to the sculptor) and, curiously, the body is in some cases shewn within it.

The bird which sometimes stands over our Lord's head (as on the cross of Patrick and Columba at Kells, and on the great cross at Clonmacnois) is in all probability the Dove, which is represented in the Catacombs in the II century, and as the type of the Holy Spirit appears in pictures of the Baptism—for instance, in one (perhaps of the VI century) in the cemetery of St. Pontianus, and on a VI century ivory panel in the British Museum, probably of North Italian work, where the Hand, or *Dextera Dei*, holds the Dove;⁵ on two ivory plaques of the IX and X century respectively, casts of which are in the South

¹ *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 696; Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, pl. VIII, pl. XXIII (fig. 2), pl. XXV; see also *Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum*, Plate IV.

² See Appell, *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, p. 9; Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens Antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, plates VI, XX.

³ See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 576, and Paciaudi, *De Cultu S. Johannis Baptistae Antiquitates Christianae*, p. 69.

⁴ Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages . . . d'Arles*, p. 49. The age assigned to the ivory at Milan is, in the South Kensington Museum, IX or X century, at Dublin, about A.D. 1000.

⁵ *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, pp. 575, 576; *Guide to the Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, pl. III.

Kensington Museum, the Dove appears over the head of our Lord crucified, as on the cross at Kells just mentioned. Upon the same cross and on that at Durrow there is the *Agnus Dei* in a circle or oval, on that of the Vatican cross, of the VI century. The Hand, or *Dextera Dei*, representing the power or action of God the Father (in accordance with the metaphor so constantly used in the Bible, which appears in a ornamental circle under an arm of the cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice and in a similar position on the west cross at Clonmacnoise, is found painted in the Catacombs emerging from a cloud in the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush, in mosaics and on sarcophagi at Rome at the Sacrifice of Isaac, and in other connections: there is a beautiful suggestion on two ivories in the South Kensington Museum (attributed to the XI century), where at the Ascension the Hand reaches down from the clouds and Christ puts up His hand to grasp it; on a book-cover there of the X century the Hand holds a wreath over His head as He hangs on the Cross: another example of it is mentioned above; its solitary position on the Irish crosses seems somewhat strange, but it appears more or less by itself, enclosed in a quatrefoil, on the stole offered to St. Cuthbert (found with his body and now in the Durham Cathedral Library) which was certainly made a few years before A.D. 916; here it has the inscription "*Dextera Dī*."³

The representation of Pilate washing his hands on the south-eastern or shorter cross at Monasterboice is a good deal like the treatment of the scene on two Roman sarcophagi of the IV century; it is not unlike an ivory panel from a casket of the V century, in the British Museum, which is also probably Roman work.⁴ The worship of the Magi (on the same cross) is much like a simplification of the same scene as represented on one of the sarcophagi above mentioned.

Again, on sarcophagi the ram in the Sacrifice of Isaac is sometimes carved standing on a ledge of rock above, as it does on Irish crosses at Castledermot and elsewhere—with the rock omitted. Many of the Irish figures are 'squat,' and with large heads, as is frequently

³ On a piece of embroidery (of late mediæval work) representing the Crucifixion, which came from a chapel in Norfolk, the Dove stands in a similar position. (See illustration, *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, vii, p. 164.)

⁴ Perhaps this may be founded on Acts, ii, 33. But the symbol is so common in the Bible and in Early Christian art that this can hardly be pressed.

⁵ See Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 160, etc., and *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 513; ii, pp. 1335, 1338, 1339, 1868; Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, p. 202, etc.

⁶ See Appell, *Monuments of Early Christian Art*, pp. 9 and 16; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, ii, p. 1868; and *Guide to the Early Christian Antiquities, etc.*, pp. 64, 65, Plate II.

BROKEN CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, KILLS (PP. 89, 92).

UNFINISHED CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, KILLS
(P. 88 *note*).

BASE OF NORTH CROSS, AHENNY, AND PART OF RUINED
CHURCH (PP. 92; 94 *note*).

BASE OF CROSS, LORRHA (P. 93).

To face p. 90

Kensington Museum, the Dove appears over the head of our Lord crucified, as on the cross at Kells just mentioned.¹ Upon the same cross and on that at Durrow there is the Agnus Dei in a circle or medallion—as on the Vatican cross of the VI century. The Hand, or *Dextera Dei*, representing the power or action of God the Father (in accordance with the metaphor so constantly used in the Bible), which appears in an ornamental circle under an arm of the cross of Muiredhach at Monasterboice and in a similar position on the west cross at Clonmacnois, is found painted in the Catacombs, emerging from a cloud, in the scene of Moses and the Burning Bush, in mosaics and on sarcophagi at Rome at the Sacrifice of Isaac, and in other connections; there is a beautiful suggestion on two ivories in the South Kensington Museum (attributed to the XI century), where at the Ascension the Hand reaches down from the clouds and Christ puts up His hand to grasp it;² on a book-cover there of the X century the Hand holds a wreath over His head as He hangs on the Cross; another example of it is mentioned above; its solitary position on the Irish crosses seems somewhat strange, but it appears more or less by itself, enclosed in a quatrefoil, on the stole offered to St. Cuthbert (found with his body and now in the Durham Cathedral Library) which was certainly made a few years before A.D. 916; here it has the inscription “*Dextera Dī.*”³

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BROKEN CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, KELLS (PP. 89, 92).

UNFINISHED CROSS IN CHURCHYARD, KELLS
(P. 88 *note*).

BASE OF NORTH CROSS, AHENNY, AND PART OF RUINED
CHURCH (PP. 92; 94 *note*).

BASE OF CROSS, LORRHA (P. 93).

To face p. 90

the case in late Roman art, including the carving on sarcophagi. A large number of the subjects commonly represented on the Irish crosses are commonly found also on sarcophagi, though these constantly bear certain subjects which—for whatever reason—the Irish very seldom or never represent, such as Jonah, Moses striking the Rock, and the Raising of Lazarus.¹ And the general treatment of the scenes, with only two or three figures in them as a rule, is similar. It is quite possible—even though the resemblance is incomplete—that the Irish workman, or his teacher, had seen such sarcophagi in France or in Italy,² or perhaps sketches of them, and had worked in imitation of these, simplifying his model, and introducing the dress, tombs, and so on with which he was familiar; but looking at a number of early ivories (or casts from them) suggests a similar relationship, and there is evidently no reason to suppose that the Irish representations are derived exclusively from sarcophagi. Besides the indications of other sources mentioned above, the form in which the Three Children are depicted on certain crosses to some extent resembles that on some Early Christian lamps in the British Museum, while some of the Early Christian or Byzantine rings or gems might, one would think, have helped to make the Irish artist content with a rough indication of his subject.³ Nor, of course, must we leave pictures in MSS. or in churches out of the account. Whether through one artist copying directly from the work of another, through sketches, or written or oral descriptions in common use, or by tradition in a school of art, the representation of a particular scene has a strong tendency—both in Early Christian art abroad and in Ireland—to be reproduced with little alteration (except that arising from the

¹ In the middle panel on the south side of the great cross at Clonmacnois there is a sitting figure apparently touching what might be a figure in a niche; it has been thought that this panel may possibly stand either for Moses striking the Rock or for the Raising of Lazarus; see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 296. It seems to me to bear no resemblance at all to the former scene, though it has some likeness to the Raising of Lazarus, as represented in Early Christian art, where Lazarus stands in a sort of niche, like a sentry-box.

It has also been thought that it might represent the Blessed Virgin and Child; in this case the Child must be in a sort of *aureole*, or complete frame, something like the *Vesica piscis*; but I do not know of any parallel to such a representation; the Madonna and Child upon St. Martin's Cross on Iona is very unlike it.

The panel is so much weathered as to make its interpretation very difficult, if not impossible.

² See the works of Le Blant already referred to, and particularly in *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, pl. XII, fig. 1, and pp. 50 and 78.

³ See e.g., *Guide to Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, pp. 57, 58; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, p. 717, etc.; ii, p. 1799, etc.

greater or less skill of the artist) sometimes over a long period—or at long intervals—of time.¹

Upon the bases (where these do not bear merely ornamental carving), though in some cases ecclesiastical persons are represented, as a rule quite a different kind of subject is introduced—men holding horses, or in chariots, processions of men on horseback, hunting scenes, animals, real or fabulous, and birds—to these in some cases allegorical meanings were probably attached.² These carvings are often very much weathered; owing to the slope of the base, they do not get the partial protection from drops which the scenes in the panels on the main part of the cross have had, especially under the arms and on the eastern side; but they seem often to shew much more vigorous work, as for instance on the cross in the Market-place at Kells, where the horses are very much alive. On the north side of the base of the north cross at Ahenny there is a very realistic and gruesome bas-relief, which represents the carrying of a slain man to his burial. In front go two men, the second bearing a ringed processional cross; next comes a third leading an ass on whose back is tied—face downwards, and with its neck to the animal's tail—a headless body. In front of the ass walks a dog, and two ravens are perched, the one on the ass's head, the other on the corpse at which it is pecking; a man apparently carrying another man, or a child, on his back brings up the rear. The scene seems to be carved from life—and from death—and the cross must many times have witnessed something more or less like it. The bases may of course in some cases have been carved later—that of the cross-shaft in the churchyard at Kells, for instance, is obviously unfinished—but the superiority in vigour which they sometimes shew may more probably be due to the sculptors being less cramped both by want of space and by the obligation to follow models which they could not quite reproduce—they were free to imitate in their own way what was often before their eyes.

However, as we know, the carving of these crosses does not consist only of figure-sculpture. The proportion of this to merely ornamental carving varies greatly; upon the larger cross at Clonmacnois there is hardly any ornament; the two at Ahenny and the fine west cross at Kilkieran use this almost—or quite—exclusively, except on the bases. This ornament and its derivation have been already described in out-

¹ The Byzantine "Painter's Guide" (see Didron, *Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, or its translation by Miss Stokes, and *Guide to Early Christian Antiquities*, etc., p. 51), written probably in the XVI or early XVII century, but with links to earlier art, is like the Irish representations in some scenes, very unlike in others.

² See Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, pp. 334 etc.

line, and as regards its excellence, both in design and execution, as used upon the best of the crosses, no reservation need be made.

But the beauty of the Irish High Cross does not depend only on the carving of its surface in detail. In the best examples the shape of it is made as beautiful as the artist could make it—the cutting away of the arms at the intersection, which takes off from the heaviness of its appearance;¹ the way in which the lines of these, or of the circle containing them, is often broken by round projections producing somewhat the effect of cusping; the bosses which accentuate the main outlines; the recessing of the faces and sides; the shrine-like top, or more rarely, as at Ahenny and Kilkieran, the high round cap—all these are thoroughly good and effective art, and there is a great deal of variety in the use of such points. The stone too on which the cross stands is (in the more finished examples) made appropriate and effective—the truncated pyramid with its solidity and large spread is obviously adapted to carry the great weight above it; often there is a secondary plinth above and sometimes two. In the most elaborate examples the whole is curved and moulded into a likeness to the base of a column; whether this was or was not consciously aimed at, the effect is excellent; there is a good example under the west cross at Kilkieran, and a base which is perhaps still more effective in the churchyard at Lorrha, from which the cross itself has almost wholly disappeared. The round bases—as at Ullard, Graiguenamanagh, and St. Mullins—are much less effective. These plinths or bases have perhaps met with less attention than they deserve, partly from being to some extent lost in the rank grass of an Irish graveyard.

A good deal has been said above (though by no means to the exhaustion of the subject) on the Irish High Cross in detail. Let us now look at its *raison d'être* in general. At the outset we saw that the pillar-stone, the ancestor of the stone cross, was used to mark boundaries and to commemorate persons.² And the most elaborate High Crosses usually, at all events, discharge the former office, in a specialized way, and sometimes the latter as well. Though crosses were certainly set up elsewhere (as at the 'Cairn of the Three Crosses' at Clonmacnois), most at all events of the best specimens are churchyard crosses, standing at some short distance outside the church or churches and marking the consecrated ground; they were often perhaps four (or sometimes more) in number. Their arrangement is as a rule difficult to trace, owing to some of them being lost or their position

¹ This is also characteristic of the Northumbrian Cross.

² See Appendix L, Some Boundary-crosses outside of Ireland.

shifted; also, where the churchyard crosses were small and simple, through the possibility of confusion with crosses set up on graves. However, Dr. Petrie, writing in 1821 of St. Kieran's on Aran Mor, says that "at a little distance from the east and west ends of the church there is an upright cut stone, five or six feet high, on two sides of which a cross is sculptured; and a similar one may be seen in the cemetery, which is some hundred yards distant.¹ At Gartan, Co. Donegal, the birthplace of St. Columb, there are stone crosses (already referred to) of the rudest kind north and south of the graveyard, and there is some record of a third cross. At Clonmacnois there are two crosses complete, the stump of a third, and parts or records of others;² in the churchyard of Kilkieran, near Carrick-on-Suir, three crosses remain, probably in their old position around the site of the little church;³ there are three crosses in the churchyard at Monasterboice; and other more or less obscure indications of the custom elsewhere, as in Reefeart churchyard, Glendalough. Most of the famous High Crosses of Ireland appear to be of this character; they have probably superseded stones with crosses cut on them, wooden crosses, or simple crosses of stone. It is not unnatural that some of these churchyard crosses should have been specially dedicated to saints, as was the Cross *Patricii et Columbe* at Kells (like 'St. Martin's Cross' at Iona), and one is surprised that they should so rarely commemorate the names of those to whom their erection was due.

Though their origin was a somewhat humble one, many of these crosses are, in their developed form, 'Crosses of the Scriptures,' or 'illustrated Bibles' on the background of the Cross, and thus epitomes of the Christian religion. The Church had long since lost its reluctance to depict the Crucifixion, or rather to suggest it, for the realistic representations of it are of still later date. Upon the cross-arms then on one

¹ Quoted in Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, p. 121. I have not ascertained whether the stones are still in the same position. The cross at Killamery is in the graveyard, some little distance from what remains of an old church.

² The plan in Ware's *Bishops* dated 1738 (at p. 164), shews four crosses in positions which suggest that these are part of a larger number formerly existing. Of these three stand as at present—west of the Cathedral, towards 'O'Rorke's Tower'; north of the Cathedral in a ruined enclosure; and outside the south-west corner of Temple Dowling: the fourth is shewn far away to the south-east near the Residentiary Houses on the border of the churchyard, and some of the fragments in Temple Dowling may belong to this.

³ There are also "fragments of several other crosses;" see Crawford's *Descriptive List of Irish Crosses, Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 224. One of these forms the lintel of the small mausoleum or mortuary chapel which probably occupies more or less the position of the church.

It should be borne in mind that the present boundaries of Irish churchyards (as at Gartan, and at Ahenny, where the ruined church stands outside the present enclosure) by no means always correspond to their ancient and proper limits.

EAST CROSS, KILKIERAN (P. 92 ETC.).

WEST CROSS, KILKIERAN (P. 92 ETC.).

CROSS OUTSIDE PRESENT CHURCHYARD
AT COOLEY (P. 96).

CROSS AND GRAVE-SLAB, ST. CAIMIN'S, INISCEALTRA
(PP. 95; 76).

To face p. 94

side usually appears a large figure of our Lord crucified, with the two soldiers below holding the spear and sponge. Upon the lower limb (on the cross at Durrow and the larger cross at Clonmacnois) are, in three panels, the mocking and the arrest of Christ and the soldiers guarding the sepulchre. (The scene of Pilate washing his hands also sometimes occurs.) On the other side is the reverse of the picture—Christ in Glory—which, on the great cross at Clonmacnois and the south-eastern cross at Monasterboice, is elaborated into the Day of Judgement. To these are added various groups of figures, which (though occasionally scenes from the Gospels are introduced) for the most part represent ‘types’ from the Old Testament, illustrating the main subject—such as the Fall of Man, the Sacrifice of Isaac; Daniel in the Lions’ Den, the Three Children, David (or Samson) killing the Lion, David and Goliath (as types of Christ’s victory or of the Resurrection); David playing on the Harp (as the prophet of his descendant); besides the Agnus Dei, the Loaves and Fishes (emblematical of the Eucharist), Christ between St. Peter and St. Paul; occasionally (as we have seen) local church history is introduced, and stories of saints, such as (at Moone Abbey and elsewhere) how ‘Paul and Antony, the hermits, broke the loaf in the wilderness.’ And where there is little figure-carving to drive home the lesson in detail—in such instances as those at Ahenny and Kilkieran and Killamery¹ (or even the less ambitious cross from the churchyard on Iniscealtra)—beauty of form and ornament thoroughly carry out the main idea. The ‘final cause’ and general motive of the High Cross is to be a monument of triumphant Christianity, a ‘sign of victory,’ as the Bewcastle Cross calls itself—“Τὸῦτο νικᾷ,” “this conquers,” as the unknown Syrian painter wrote of the cross-shaped monogram.² In fact, considering the imperfection of Irish figure-sculpture, some will think that the crosses which have little figure-carving are the most completely successful; they seem to represent fully—so far as stone, worked like jewelry, will allow—the thought of those lines from the “Dream of the Rood” (other parts of which are engraved in Runes on the Ruthwell Cross):

I saw the tree of glory shine in beauty, honoured with hangings and decked with gold, gems had covered with honour the forest-tree.³

The size of these crosses varies greatly; to give a few examples, the west cross at Monasterboice is 21 feet 6 inches high; the south-eastern cross, 17 feet 8 inches; while the two complete crosses at Clonmacnois

¹ These crosses are in one district, within a few miles of Carrick-on-Suir.

² De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. CLI, pp. 108, 109.

³ Grein and Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, ii, part i, p. 117.

are 13 feet and 12 feet, and those at Ahenny 11 feet 6 inches and 10 feet 6 inches in height respectively.¹

There are, of course, many other crosses besides those referred to above, shewing many degrees of elaboration from the flat simplicity of the ringed cross at Cooley, near Moville, Co. Donegal, and the almost equally simple character of the cross south of the cathedral at Glendalough; of course the unornamented crosses are not *necessarily* the oldest. Those already specially mentioned are commonly assigned to the X or XI century. We have seen that one of these is dated as belonging to the beginning of the X century; some may be a little earlier, and it is difficult to say how much later the type may extend without much alteration. In the XII century we again get a certain landmark. The great cross now in the market-place at Tuam—which, when complete, must have been quite 30 feet high—was erected, as is proved by the inscriptions on the base, at some time not very long before 1156.² On each side of the base are two figures in very high relief, apparently of a king and an ecclesiastic—no doubt O'Hoissen, who became Archbishop of Tuam, and Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught and of Ireland, both of whom are mentioned in the inscription. Most of the shaft is covered with well-designed and well-cut interlacement, which was now driving out other patterns, particularly the spiral,³ but upon the cross-part is, on one side, our Lord crucified, with a skirt down to the knees and wearing a royal crown, as was common in representations of the XII century⁴ (not the Crown of Thorns, as in later realistic representations):

Regnavit a ligno Deus,

¹ See Crawford, *A Descriptive List of the Early Irish Crosses*, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, p. 187, etc.

² See Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions*, ii, pp. 77, 78; *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 314, etc.; O'Neill, *Illustrations of the most interesting of the Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland*, plates XI—XIII; and *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 1106, 1156, the dates respectively of the inauguration of Turlough as King of Connaught and of his death.

As regards O'Hoissen or "U Ossin," in 1128, "Muirgheas O'Nioc, successor of Iarlath of Tuaim-da-Ghualann for a time, died on Inis-an-Ghoill" (*Annals of the Four Masters*); thus we do not know that he held that office at his death; the entry rather suggests that he had retired (in the *Annals of Ulster* he is called *herenagh* of Tuam); nor is it certain that O'Hoissen immediately succeeded him. O'Hoissen became Archbishop in 1150 and died in 1161 (Ware, *Bishops*, pp. 601, 604; *Annals of the Four Masters*). On the cross he is called "abbot" and "successor of Iarlath."

³ See Appendix M, The later Limit of the Divergent Spiral.

⁴ See Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, p. 160. The representation of our Lord at Tuam is singularly like a French crucifix of copper gilt and enamel in the South Kensington Museum, of the XII or early XIII century; also like a bronze figure from a crucifix, found in Tyrone, now in the British Museum.

as the (much earlier) hymn, *Vexilla regis*, expresses it.¹ Thus we are still more or less in the region of symbolic representation, as in the earlier crosses and in Early Christian art, and have not reached the realism of the later Middle Ages and of modern times. However, in general the composition is far less complete and thoughtful than in the crosses with figures already described; on the reverse side of the cross is a bishop, probably St. Jarlath, the founder of the church of Tuam, flanked by two small figures on each side of him; the cross-head is a plain cross surrounded by a plain ring (which is not quite circular), that is to say, without any of those elaborations which add so much to the best among the earlier crosses. (There is the shaft of another cross in the cathedral, carved with interlaced patterns, which is also fixed by inscriptions to about the same date, and records the name of its carver, otherwise unknown.)

The strangely-shaped cross—unringed—outside Cashel Cathedral, in which the cross-piece was strengthened by a support on each side, also has a figure of our Lord, clothed, on one side, and another in a chasuble, probably representing St. Patrick, corresponding to it; both sides are much mutilated. In 'St. Kevin's House' at Glendalough, a finely-shaped Latin cross—without a ring, but with knobs or 'rolls'—has found a home, after much rough usage. It bears a good deal of resemblance to that in the market-place at Tuam. Our Lord is crowned, with a skirt down to the knees, His head inclined, more so than at Tuam; we are getting to the representation of Christ dead, as in the later realistic crucifixes; under his feet stands a priest or bishop in a chasuble; on the base (as at Tuam) stand out two figures side by side, much mutilated; the cross is carved on the sides and back, in part with simple, regular knot-work. It is of granite, and, considering the material, was a very successful work of art, so far as can be judged in its injured condition; we can hardly be wrong in assigning it to the XII, or *possibly* to the beginning of the XIII, century.

On the cross at Disert O'Dea, which has no ring, but four knobs or 'rolls' at the intersection, our Lord is not crowned; His dress reaches nearly to the feet. The carving on this cross, notably that of the Fall, is nearly related to earlier examples; it may probably belong also to the

¹ Psalm xcvi (xcv in the Latin), verse 10, has the reading "Dicite in gentibus, Dominus regnavit a ligno," in the Old Italic version. See Sabatier's edition of the *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, and Tertullian, *Adversus Judaeos*, cc. X and XIII, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ii, pp. 627, 628 and 635, and references to St. Augustine and other early authorities in notes in both works.

XII century.¹ Of similar date is in all probability the ringed cross at Drumcliff, near Sligo; this shews some good 'divergent spiral' work, and the Tree of Knowledge, above Adam and Eve, as a double-stemmed vine, growing in spirals with a few leaves above, and the roots forming knot-work below; it has our Lord in a long robe (not crowned) on the one side, and on the other a bishop or abbot (probably St. Columb) wearing what appears to be a kind of flattish mitre. This cross has four knobs, carved, at the intersection, and rounded beads are freely used on it.² The influence of the earlier type may also be noticed in the cross which stands in the churchyard at Roscrea—much injured and much restored—which has our Lord in a long robe upon one side, and a bishop, apparently in a mitre (who is doubtless St. Cronan) on the other; it is no doubt of still later date, though the 'stepping' in the head is a survival from an old type of cross. A good deal like this are the remains of a cross in the churchyard of Monaincha, a few miles away.³

Naturally, a certain number of Gothic crosses are to be found in Ireland. There is, for instance, a good simple one in the churchyard at Kilfenora, with an octagonal shaft, the head and remaining arm of which end in trefoils. On Devenish Island in Lough Erne there is in the churchyard a very elaborate cross. Each of the four sides of the shaft has upon it, rather more than half-way up, an ogee arch, and the mouldings which form this rise vertically from its point (on the western side) in a plaited stem flanked by two other plaits, and these terminate in vine-leaves and grapes; above the stem on each side is a bird, reminding one of the doves or other birds, in pairs, or among vines, first in classical and in Early Christian art—instances of which we have already noticed. On the east face is a small Crucifixion. On the north-western and south-western corners, above the arches, is carving like a number of string-courses or ground-courses set up above each other, apparently to produce an ornamental effect. Of course, all four sides are, in Irish

¹ For accounts and illustrations of this see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1894, p. 156, etc., 1899, p. 246, etc.; 1900, p. 248, etc.

² See illustrations to *Notes on the High Crosses of Moone, Drumcliff, Termonfeckin and Killamery*, by Miss M. Stokes, edited by T. J. Westropp, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, part xiii, p. 541, etc. See also Appendix M, The later Limit of the Divergent Spiral.

³ The 'stepping' on the Roscrea Cross appears plainly to come from the rectangular enlargements at the intersection and at the ends of the arms in some earlier crosses on grave-slabs and elsewhere, which produces a very similar effect (see above, p. 76). There is a grave-slab in the chancel of the Cathedral at Glendalough with steps inside the ring much like those on the cross at Monaincha, which does not exactly reproduce the outline of these earlier crosses.

CROSS AT CASHEL (P. 97).

CROSS IN 'ST. KEVIN'S HOUSE,' GLENDALOUGH (CLOSED
WEST DOORWAY BEHIND) (P. 97).

CROSS NEAR GLENDALOUGH (PP. 93, 227).

CROSS AT ROSCREA (P. 98).

CROSS AT DRUMCLIFF (PP. 98, 228).

CROSS ON DEVENISH ISLAND (PP. 98, 99).

CROSS AT ROAD-SIDE, DUNSANY (P. 99).

To face p. 98

work, not precisely alike, but there is no need to describe them in detail.¹ Above a necking comes the head, which is formed of four semicircles set back to back, the gaps left between these being filled up on each side with triangular projections bearing vine-leaves and at the top with a head; the semicircles are cusped, and are backed with rope-mouldings (on one side of the cross) and with plaits like those on the stem. This head has been described as a bit of tracery from a window, which it could not possibly be—it is finished work, as the terminations of the arms shew, and not a fragment. The suggestion that it is a gable-cross,² thought to be shewn by a disproportionate smallness, is less possible to disprove, but in that case much trouble must have been wasted on the plaits, rope-moulding, and other delicate carving, which could produce little or no effect at any considerable height. It seems an appropriate head to the shaft, and there appears on the whole no necessity for divorcing them. However, even taking the shaft by itself, this shews thoughtful designing, and great elaboration (such as, in a different style of art, produced the earlier crosses which have been described); it is certainly a work of late Irish Gothic, while the birds tie it on to Early Christian art; there is a good deal of resemblance between it and a doorway in the Abbey close by, with which it is no doubt more or less contemporary; the doorway also has the pair of birds.³

A cross at the roadside near Dunsany Castle, which, in a sunk panel, has a figure of our Lord crucified, recalls with its high top an early form of Irish cross. In general, late Irish High Crosses have by no means the interest of the earlier ones; one at Athenry, in the town, a 'Rood with Mary and John' shews the unpleasant (though well-intentioned) figure-carving which we shall have to notice in (and shortly before) the XVI century. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to say that in Ireland the erection of crosses did not end in the middle of that century, at the time of the Reformation.

¹ There is an illustration and a full description in *Devenish (Lough Erne), its History Antiquities, and Traditions*, published by Gill, Dublin, and Weaver, Enniskillen, and in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* (later, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland), vol. ix (1889), pp. 296, etc.

² See Crawford, *A Descriptive List of Irish Crosses*, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1907, p. 197.

³ There is an inscribed stone belonging to the Abbey (it is said to have stood on the right of the east window) which states that "this work" was executed in A.D. 1449. It is of course difficult to say to how much of the church this applies, but the date is quite suitable to (at least) a great deal of the building, including this doorway.

CHAPTER VI

CHURCHES CARVED AND ELABORATED—AND SOME MINOR BUILDINGS

WHATEVER moveable and perishable ornament, in hangings and woodwork, the early stone churches may have possessed, in their permanent features the buildings hitherto described shew hardly any features which are not of practical use. The exceptions to this noticed so far are the 'architraves' round doors, the crosses on the under side of the lintel in St. Mary's Church at Glendalough and at Killiney, and the crosses over the doorways of Fore Church and the Round Tower at Antrim. There is also a 'Celtic' cross carved in relief within a panel, which is now built into the churchyard wall at Fahan on Lough Swilly; it was almost certainly a part of the old church there, now destroyed, and probably occupied a similar position to the two last mentioned. The curious, rough, and now mutilated carving of a man, supposed to be St. Kevin, with an ecclesiastical person on one side holding a staff or crozier of the old Irish form (so many specimens of which are preserved in museums), and a bell-ringer on the other, part of which still stands over the doorway of the Romanesque 'Priest's House' at Glendalough,¹ may possibly belong to an older building. There is an animal carved on a stone in the west wall of *Teampull MacDuach* on the largest of the Aran Islands, and a bit of interlaced work on the door-jamb of a church on the Mullet, Co. Mayo; a stone with similar work is built into the wall of St. Ciaran's Church at Clonmacnois, and a carving of interlaced dragons and rope-work is inserted in a window-jamb of the late chapel, known as *Teampull-na-Griffin*, at Ardfert—this list might be enlarged. It is unlikely that these bits of carving all formed part of churches originally, and their date must be more or less uncertain, but together they tend somewhat to weaken the impression that, right down to the period of Irish Romanesque, there was very little decorative stone-carving in Ireland except on the High Crosses. There is, however, more certain evidence available on this point.

The doorway at Maghera, Co. Londonderry, has a semicircular

¹ In Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 251, there is a drawing of it when it was complete; this quite coincides with the part still remaining.

arch within, but is square-headed outside, and in that part elaborately and beautifully carved. It is much ruined, and a tower has been built round it having no western opening; thus it is difficult to photograph. Above the lintel, framed by the outer 'order' of the doorway, is a Crucifixion in a form adapted to the breadth of the surface to be covered; it has the Apostles beneath, as on a strange engraved gem in the British Museum: but the central part bears a very marked resemblance to the corresponding portion of a fresco (attributed to the IX century) in the vestibule of the House of the Martyrs, St. John and St. Paul, at Rome; our Lord clothed; the four figures, two on each side above the arms of the cross, which at Maghera are unmistakably angels (these are common in representations of the Crucifixion made in or about the X century); and the soldiers with the spear and sponge, though this is of course usual on the Irish crosses; it is natural to suppose that the Irish artist had seen either this painting or a similar representation. Below this, on the western face of an inner door-jamb, is a chequer-pattern. This is, of course, found in Norman work, but it is a very obvious form of decoration, occurring, for instance, on a pottery bowl (in the British Museum) of the time of Constantine, as well as on the Bewcastle Cross, and on a German ivory plaque from a book-cover, assigned to the X century (a cast of which is in the South Kensington Museum); it also appears on one side of the Shrine of the Stowe Missal, the date of which seems to be fixed by the inscription on it to some time between 1023 and 1052. On the south side of the doorway the outer door-jamb has upon its western face a foliage-pattern slightly interlacing: on its northern face it bears decoration mainly consisting of spirals, flatter, and suggesting leather-work; it is a good deal like the end of the leather case of St. Moedoc's shrine in the Dublin Museum; it also resembles some of the carving on the sides of the doorway at Clonfert. Upon this face there is also a bird carved, and at the top the figure of an ecclesiastic wearing the pointed Gallican cap, or *baradh*. The opposite side of the doorway shews somewhat similar, but not identical carving; part of this, running in spirals, is a good deal like the vine-pattern on some of the Anglian crosses, in Northumbria and elsewhere, which are modelled on classical designs. The church to which the doorway is attached has been for the most part rebuilt at a much later time.¹

The doorway of the church at Banagher, in the same county, is in general design similar to this, being square outside and semicircular within, but it is plain, differing from that at Maghera much as a Gothic

¹ See Appendix N, Note on the Carved Doorway at Maghera.

moulded capital does from one carved with foliage. It has a raised border like a picture-frame, and along the inner angle of this, on each side and above, runs a round moulding. The whole has in general rather a classical appearance; it is simple and effective. On the inside, where the doorway is arched, there are in the jambs signs of very elaborate arrangements for securing the door. At the top of the nave wall there has been an ornamental (waved) cornice, now much weathered. The irregularly coursed masonry of the nave is very different from the rough ashlar, in large square blocks, of the chancel which distinctly belongs to the Irish Romanesque style, the two kinds of stone-work being contrasted much as they are in St. Caimin's on the Holy Island in Lough Derg. The church is first mentioned in 1121, and Muriedhach O'Heney, the founder, has a name the form of which cannot be before the XI century.¹

The date thus approximately assigned to the nave of Banagher Church is strongly supported by a parallel feature in the church of Cahan Abbey only three or four miles distant. At Banagher the south (and only) window of the nave has on the outside a sort of frame extending round it, which at the bottom juts out to each side, almost like a sort of base. On the inside it is considerably splayed at the sides, but more at the bottom, and at the top of this lower splay there is a socket apparently for a wooden post on which shutters might meet. There is a corresponding hole above (now somewhat broken away) for fixing the top of this post, and a hole at the side, doubtless for a bolt. At Cahan Abbey, in the south side of the nave, there is a window almost exactly similar both in the shape of its frame outside and in the arrangement for closing and securing the window. Now the foundation of Cahan Abbey is assigned to the year 1100,² and, though it has been greatly altered in later times, few will doubt that the feature named belongs, in all probability, to the earliest date assigned for its building. With these lines of evidence converging, there can be little doubt that the Banagher nave was built at some date not so very far removed from A.D. 1100. Further, since it will hardly be questioned that the chancel is later than the nave, the date indicated for the Irish Romanesque chancel is not consistent with the early period to which that style is often referred. But to this question—the date of Irish Romanesque architecture—we shall have to return.

As to the date of the doorway at Maghera, the carving is not

¹ See Appendix O, Date of Banagher Church.

² Archdall, *Monasticon*; Ware, *The Antiquities of Ireland*; in both cases on the authority of Allemande.



CROSS IN PANEL BUILT INTO CHURCHYARD
WALL AT FAHAN MURA (P. 100).

PART OF DOORWAY OF CHURCH, MAGHERA (PP. 100 ETC., 228).

WINDOW IN NAVE,
CAHAN ABBEY,
OUTSIDE (P. 102).

WINDOW IN NAVE,
CAHAN ABBEY,
INSIDE (P. 102).

WINDOW IN NAVE AT BANAGHER, OUTSIDE (P. 102).

WINDOW IN NAVE AT BANAGHER, INSIDE (P. 102).

To face p. 102

WEST END OF NAVE, BANAGHER (P. 101 ETC.).

INSIDE OF WEST DOORWAY AND MASONRY,
BANAGHER NAVE (P. 101 ETC.).

WINDOW AND MASONRY, BANAGHER CHANCEL
(PP. 102, 128).

To face p 102

markedly like that on the crosses which are certainly or probably referred to the X century or thereabouts. The general form of the doorway, inside and out, is much like that at Banagher, and part of the ornament is consistent with a date in the XI century (or not much later), since the doorway at Clonfert may well reproduce earlier Irish ornament combined with Romanesque forms—a combination which, as we shall see, is common. If the Roman fresco mentioned above belongs to the IX century, there is no reason why it (or a similar representation), as well as imitations of classical vine-patterns, should not have been copied in Ireland at a considerably later date. The indications are not very clear; but, taking all the facts into consideration, one would be inclined to assign the doorway to the XI century.

All the ornamentation hitherto described seems to stand apart from Irish Romanesque, except in so far as buildings in that style adopt classical or distinctly Irish patterns; that is to say, this ornament has no definite affinity with Norman Romanesque or with later work. But the same cannot be said of *Teampull Chronain* at Tarmon, not far from Bell Harbour in Co. Clare. This little oblong, one-chambered church has in its general character an appearance of great antiquity; its masonry is massive and irregular: "a very little rough grouting was the only cement used"¹ (since Lord Dunraven's time some fresh mortar has been added, in the modern style). It has at the west end a doorway, stopped up later on, with inclined sides and a flat lintel; the east window is square-headed within and its sides also incline. On the other hand the church has details which appear to belong to a much later time; there are heads projecting from the walls in various places on the outside; some of these are human heads, well carved, some are heads of animals, one at least bears a general resemblance to those truncated, grotesque animal heads which frequently terminate the dripstone of an Irish Romanesque arch. At the east end there is an attempt at carving the corners into a shaft or moulding (something like the shafts which end off corners in many Irish Romanesque churches), but only three stones are thus treated. There is a little carving on the under side of some of the brackets for carrying out the roof at the four corners. Round the head of the east window on the outside (where it is semicircular) there is a slight reveal; on the inside there are grooves cut in the splay, two on one side and one on the other; while on the south side of the window (outside the splay) there is a border of pellets, which does not, however, reach to the top; it is confined to one upright stone and has nothing to correspond on the other side. Finally, there is a plain pointed

¹ Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, p. 106.

doorway on the north side (which has superseded the one at the west), having a head built into the wall over it. This doorway suggests the certain solution of the puzzle which this church at first sight presents. It is merely a church of the ancient Irish type, which has been 'restored' and ornamented at two different periods (at least), with that disregard of symmetry which so often characterizes later Irish architecture. Several of the churches on the Aran Islands shew somewhat similar 'restoration,' and it is important to bear in mind the unmistakable instances of its occurrence.

A more difficult problem is presented by 'St. Molaise's House,' on Devenish Island. This building was perfect at the beginning of the last century; though now it is largely ruined, its features can be accurately made out, partly from the carefully cut stones on the site, partly from drawings made while it was entire.¹ It is built of large stones, roughly squared, with a square-headed doorway having parallel sides and a simple raised band or 'architrave' round this. It had a round-headed east window, built up of good masonry. The stone roof was carefully constructed, each stone being cut so as to overlap the course below, as tiles do; these probably rested on an arch, since the roof has thrust the southern wall outwards, though this is nearly four feet thick. There are at the corners four quoins, like shallow corner buttresses, slightly projecting from and covering either side of each corner of the building, these at the west end supported a barge-course running along the edge of the gable to the top—somewhat as in the XII century church at Kilmalkedar, though there the barge-course ends a few feet above the eaves. The quoins below this are cut into shafts, or mouldings, at their corners, and on the flat parts of them there is some carving in low relief which, in several cases, is obviously an Irish adaptation of our old friend the 'honeysuckle pattern' or palmette, a classical ornament which is used pretty freely in Norman work in England, for instance, upon capitals, as in the triforium at Chichester and in Oxford Cathedral; there is an instance of it (much like that at Devenish) in connection with Romanesque work in Rath Church, Co. Clare;² another form of it is used to ornament the doorway at Monaincha. The shafts or mouldings seem to be on a distinctly Romanesque plan; they are in general effect like the mouldings on the *antae* at Roscrea. It should be said that the quoins are so intimately connected with the walls which they

¹ See *Devenish (Lough Erne), its History, Antiquities, and Traditions*.

² See the *Journal R.S.A.I.* for 1894, p. 33. It also occurs over a window at Kilcorney, Co. Clare, *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1900, p. 421. I have not seen these two churches myself.

TEAMPULL CHRONAIN, FROM NORTH-WEST
(PP. 103, 104).

SOUTH-WEST CORNER AND DOORWAY, 'MOLAISE'S
HOUSE,' DEVENISH ISLAND (PP. 104, 105).

EAST WINDOW, TEAMPULL CHRONAIN, FROM
INSIDE (P. 103).

CHANCEL ARCH OF THE LARGEST CHURCH, OUGHTMAMA
(PP. 106, 107).

To face p. 104

adjoin that they cannot have been added, except in connection with a somewhat complete rebuilding; they might of course have been built first and carved later, but their shape (since they cover the corners, as is often the case in English Romanesque work, and do not merely prolong the walls, like proper *antæ*) does not point to a remote antiquity, nor does the rest of the building give proof of this. Its relation to the original 'house' or oratory of St. Molaise of Devenish, who lived in the VI century, may be understood from what has been said and quoted above on pp. 32, 33, 44; we shall meet with another example in connection with St. Doulough.

It thus appears that the two instances last mentioned cannot be cited as evidence of decoration of the stone fabric of churches in Ireland before Romanesque architecture made its influence felt. But from the other examples still remaining it may well be doubted whether the impression that such carving was almost wholly confined to the crosses is not somewhat exaggerated. It must be remembered that, while many of the churches which once held a distinguished position have been destroyed, those likely to have been honoured with elaborate decoration in early times are in many cases just those which would be 'brought up to date' by being wholly or partially rebuilt in the latest style. At Derry or at Armagh there may have been doorways like that at Maghera, and the great church at Clonmacnois may have had one like the doorway at Banagher. In a somewhat similar way we are in England left largely to conjecture as to what a Saxon Cathedral was like, or an Abbey Church of the first rank built in the style which preceded the Norman Conquest.

One or two other churches should be mentioned, which seem at first sight to shew an antiquity which they cannot really claim. At Oughtmama, near Bell Harbour and Corcomroe Abbey in Co. Clare, there is a group of three churches (one of these being now represented by a mere fragment), the largest of which is also architecturally the most interesting and important. This has a stoup on which is a much-worn carving of two stags with antlers interlaced, a subject probably suggested by the early symbolic introduction of the stag, at first (as, for instance, on the Lateran Cross and in other mosaics and in frescoes, and upon lamps and sarcophagi) to represent the heathen seeking for baptism—a wild animal, as opposed to the sheep, the faithful; later on it had a wider meaning, in allusion to Psalm xlii (xli in the Vulgate);¹

¹ See a bas-relief of a stag drinking at a fountain, illustrated by Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, pp. 103, etc.; *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, pp. 496, 921, 1926; the psalm is used in the Blessing of the Font in the Stowe Missal (edited by Dr. Warner for the Henry Bradshaw

thus the stag would be a specially appropriate ornament for a holy-water stoup. The building in general stands apart from the quite plain churches (such as Trinity and Reefeart churches at Glendalough), and from those in the decorated Irish Romanesque style. The chancel arch has plain rounded bases, and imposts chamfered below, which on the two sides are slightly different. (The smaller church, to the east of this, has for its west doorway an arch almost exactly similar.) The two windows on the south side of the nave (there are none on the north), though widely splayed within, are on the outside unusually narrow slits, with a reveal, which seems made for a shutter; the two windows are not quite similar in their height, or as to their position in the wall. The walls have been finished with a cornice and parapet having numerous openings for letting out the water, much like those on the Romanesque chancel of Glendalough Cathedral. On the other hand, the west doorway is plain and square-headed; within, it has on the north side a projecting stone, with a hole passing vertically through it, apparently for a post on which the door was fastened. It should be said that the more easterly window in the nave shews signs of alteration, as also does another part of the south wall, and that two more or less vertical joints in the masonry on each side of the chancel arch¹ suggest that this may possibly have been inserted.

The general conclusion seems to be that, whenever the church was first built, it has probably been considerably altered or rebuilt, though it is possible that no part of it is, in spite of its archaic features,² so old as it appears. The parapet and gutter can hardly be of any very early date. The older plan in Ireland (as in England and in most of France) was simply to let the rain-water drip from the eaves. Though the gutter is quite usual in Roman buildings, it seems to have gone out of use, except in the south-west of France, till about the middle of the XII century, and was not in general use until later still.³ It is therefore unlikely that the church at Oughtmama (as it stands) was completed before 1150 at the very earliest, in spite of its generally plain and ancient appearance; the chancel arch closely resembles such Early Norman

Society), and in the corresponding part of the Roman service. The first verse of the psalm is cut round the top of the very ancient font at Potterne, near Devizes, the quotation being not from the Vulgate, "but from an alternative version of St. Jerome, which is used in the ancient Anglo-Saxon baptismal service."

¹ These joints—or cracks—seem to be shewn also in Lord Dunraven's photograph, taken before any repairs had been done, as *e.g.* some re-setting of the chancel arch.

² There is a square-headed doorway in the church on Inismain which was built in all probability late in the XII century; see p. 33.

³ Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 395.

TWO CHURCHES AT OUGHTMAMA (THE LARGEST AND THE NEXT IN SIZE), FROM
THE SOUTH-WEST (P. 105 ETC.).

KILMALKEDAR CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-WEST (PP. 107, 108, 122, 123, 127, 129).

arches as those in the nave of St. Nicholas, Leicester, probably of earlier date; in Ireland it is (in its present condition) remarkable as an unusually plain specimen of Romanesque work.

There is a church very similar in general character, particularly in its chancel arch, on Inisbofin, an island in Lough Ree. Here, however, the chancel is only of the same breadth as the jambs of the arch, which are thus continuous with the north and south walls of the chancel; the starting-point of the arch is marked by the impost with a straight chamfer, which runs about 2 feet 6 inches eastwards along each jamb, and about 8 inches north and south along each side of the east wall of the nave.

A few words must here be said on the introduction of the impost into Irish architecture. It is sometimes assumed that the rudest examples of this, like that at Nouhaval, Co. Clare, or *Teampull Mac Duach*, on the Aran Islands, are also necessarily the most ancient, as if the idea had been worked out from its rudiments in Ireland.¹ But Ireland, after the VI century, was not so wholly separated from the rest of Europe as this theory would imply; and what makes the account improbable is that a very rude impost is found in churches which, on other grounds, cannot belong to a very early period; for instance, in Temple na Neave, an Irish Romanesque church on an island in Lough Corrib, where it has merely a rough square outline. Further, the impost beneath an arch has no practical value; it is not very likely to have suggested itself independently to builders in different countries as some practical contrivance might do, like the string-course which tends to keep walls dry. But of the source—or sources—from which it reached Ireland there is no certain proof. An impost, square above, chamfered below, is found in the Porta Nigra at Trèves and in Central Syria; it is used in Anglo-Saxon and constantly in Norman work, and even in English buildings (as at Yapton Church, in Sussex) which shew decided signs of the transition to Gothic. But in view of the many Irish arches (such as those at Glendalough and at Killiney) which are absolutely plain, it seems probable that the impost was a somewhat late importation into Ireland. It is found there in various forms, chamfered or rounded, and also merely hammered or cut square—like the string-course or cornice at the west end of St. Mary's Glendalough, or that which terminates the roof of 'St. Kevin's House,' and even of the little 'beehive' hut or cell at Kilmalkedar; round the Romanesque chancel there the stones of the string-course vary a good deal, some have the upper corner chamfered off, some are rounded

¹ In *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Miss Stokes, part ii, p. 48; and in *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ii, p. 146.

above and below, in some cases the dressing is very rough; an impost may of course have been considered by the Irish builder as a piece of string-course marking the spring of an arch. But opinion as to the succession, date, and origin of architectural features in Ireland (particularly of those which are not suggested by practical needs) must depend to some considerable extent on the view taken of decorated Irish Romanesque architecture, that is to say, of those buildings which, for whatever reason, shew a striking affinity to Norman architecture; this subject will be discussed in the following chapter.

Before coming to this, there are certain small but interesting and peculiarly Irish buildings about which a few words should be said. Though St. Declan's grave is in the little building which professes to be and probably really represents his 'House' or his oratory (his skull was found in the grave, and the dust from it is still highly valued for rheumatism) and St. Molaga's in the little church known as *Labba Molaga* ('Molaga's Bed'), St. Manchan was, as we saw (p. 24), buried outside his church. Now there are just outside *Teampull Chronain* two tombs of a primitive kind, each having two triangular stones standing up at the ends, and two slabs leaning towards each other forming the sides; one of these tombs—5 to 6 feet long,¹ and nearly 4 feet high—is (or was) known as 'St. Cronan's Bed.' (There are two triangular stones standing in the churchyard at Slane which may probably be the ends of a similar tomb). But this kind of tomb received a further development. At Bovevagh, near Dungiven, Co. Londonderry, there is in the churchyard a little building like a tiny stone-roofed Irish church; its length was about 9 ft.; its breadth is 6 ft. 6 in.; its height a little more than 7 ft. Its stone roof is much ruined on the south; on the north about half of it is formed of two large slabs. It has a hole at the west end, roughly triangular, with waved sides—like an ogee arch, but rounded, not pointed, above; this opening is, like the roof, of cut stone, and plainly ancient, though perhaps not original. It was probably made in order to get at the holy dust in the saint's tomb.² This is nearly solid inside, only about enough room for a body being left.

At Banagher, a few miles away, the tomb of St. Muredhach O'Heney is of similar form, but more elaborate. It is like a miniature stone-roofed church, and, on the outside, built almost wholly of cut stone; the east wall has a sloped plinth; at the west end is a square string-course running across the gable, which, however, has not been sufficient to ward off injury by the weather from the figure carved in

¹ Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, i, pp. 106, 107.

² See Bede, *Ecc. Hist.*, iii, 10 and 11; *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, article, *Relics*.

low relief in a panel, which, no doubt, represents St. Muriedhach O'Heney, the founder of the church.¹ "Beside it," says Reeves,² "is the hole whence the famous Banagher sand is raised, which ensures such luck in racing to the horse over which it is cast." The dust was still used in 1907, at all events. Shrines—whether Irish, such as that found in Lough Erne, or English, like the later reliquary at Hereford—were usually of this shape, but probably because both tomb and shrine were modelled on a little church or chapel.

There is a small building on Iniscealtra (or, Holy Island), Lough Derg, which may be mentioned here, though there is nothing to determine its date with accuracy. It is built of squared stones, the courses being fairly regular; it shews no mark of extreme antiquity, but it may well represent an older building, rebuilt. It is oblong; about 9 or 10 ft. long inside, and about 3 ft. 6 in. broad, and divided into two compartments by two flat slabs (set across it like folding-doors, but of course immovable); the gap between them is not wide enough for any ordinary person to pass through; it might perhaps be possible to crawl through at the bottom. The highest part of the walls is now about 4 ft. high, and the height of the slabs about the same. In the inner compartment, which occupies about two-thirds of the whole, there is a step, and upon this what appears to be a sort of rough seat of stones. This is at the west end; the doorway faces east, with part of the fittings of the hinge remaining. The building has its own enclosure round it.

It is commonly known as 'the Confessional,' but very great difficulties stand in the way of accepting this as an accurate description. In the first place, while there is no doubt that Confession—in some form—was used in the Irish Church from very early times (though it seems afterwards for a time to have been more or less disused)³ it is not necessary, though it may be convenient, that a definite place, adapted to the purpose, should be provided for it; such Confessionals were at all events very unusual during the Middle Ages, and the claims of those adaptations of churches which profess to be such are now very

¹ Petrie (*Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 454) gives the dimensions of the tomb at Boveagh as 9 ft. long, 7 ft. 6 in. high, and of that at Banagher as 10 ft. long, 4 ft. 9 in. broad, 8 ft. high, the roof forming just half of the height. Both have been repaired since his drawings were made. His drawing of the tomb at Banagher does not mark any string-course clearly, but then his representation of the Saint is not quite correct.

² *Acts of Archbishop Colton*, A.D. 1397, edited by the Rev. William Reeves, p. 108.

³ See Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 147, etc., and passages quoted there.

generally discredited.¹ Besides this, since there is no sign of any door (though there was a window) to the inner compartment, the confessor could not have entered it—with any dignity, at all events. It seems clear that it was really the hermitage of the monastery, for which it was well adapted—though no doubt many confessions were heard there by the hermit or ‘inclusus.’ We have noticed earlier instances of such hermitages, and shall meet with a still more elaborate arrangement at St. Doulough’s; the hermitage is an institution which lasts on from early Christian times to the end of the Middle Ages—and in Ireland later still.²

This building is one of the features which on the Holy Island give such a complete picture of an old Irish monastery. There are the churches and the Round Tower. One of the burial-grounds, which “is full of saints,” is in its old state, with graves roughly built of slabs, composite stone coffins (like the two in the little chapel north-west of the cathedral at Iona); it is not ruined by modern interments—my fisherman and guide was very strong against ‘rooting up the old saints’; one wishes this sentiment about ancient churchyards had been more general in Ireland: there are two crosses remaining and the bases and sockets of others which once stood there, some of which are probably among those preserved in St. Caimin’s Church. There are no remains of the domestic buildings (except the hermitage); these may probably have been of wood, either wholly or in part; but it is not hard to see where they stood. In the eastern part of the island much of the land is more or less terraced and shews the ridge and furrow of cultivation, the rest having no doubt been used for pasture, as at present. The part around the monastery is shut in with a *vallum* and ditch, and all or most of the churches, large and small, have had each its own enclosure. There is “a blessed well” near the shore on the south-east; and on the east, or sheltered side, is the old harbour or landing-place. Above this, near the hermitage and between the shore and the churches, the former garden is still marked by a few ancient plum-trees, which still make an effort to bear fruit, which is quite different from the sloes which surround them.

There is a good deal of XII century work on the island, and a carved Crucifixion in St. Caimin’s Church, which can hardly be much

¹ See Appendix P, Confessionals in the Middle Ages.

² Harris, editing Ware’s *Antiquities of Ireland*, in the XVIII century, says: “One of these Anachorites at present remains in *Ireland, viz.*, at *Foure* in the county of *West-Meath*; . . . he inhabits a small low Cell, so narrow, that a tall Man can scarce stretch himself at length on the Floor. He makes a Vow at his Entrance never to quit his Cell” (p. 135).

TOMB IN CHURCHYARD OF TEAMPULL CHRONAIN
(P. 108).

CHANCEL ARCH, NOUHAVAL CHURCH (P. 107).

HERMITAGE, INISCEALTRA (PP. 109, 110).

TOMB IN CHURCHYARD, BANAGHER
(PP. 108, 109).

To face p. 110

(if at all) older than the XVI century; the site was certainly not deserted at an early date. But it retains many of the characteristics of an early Irish monastery, and in the completeness of the picture which it suggests it is like the Holy Island in the Sound of Lorn, which has already been described.

CHAPTER VII

IRISH ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE

THE date—and the originality—of decorated Irish Romanesque is one of the vexed questions in the history of Irish architecture. There is a great deal of work there bearing more or less close resemblance to Norman architecture. But it has been contended that much of this at least is independent of and anterior to similar examples in Normandy and England. This theory is founded on the authority of Dr. George Petrie. In his *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, speaking of these ornamented churches, he says:

This is, however, a portion of my subject which I confess myself unable to illustrate as satisfactorily as I could wish, because the historical evidences are too generally wanting which would give certainty to the investigation. In the absence of such evidences, I can only draw conjectural conclusions from a comparison of characteristic architectural ornaments found in them with those found in churches in England and elsewhere, the ages of which have been determined; and even such conclusions must be drawn with timidity, till the question is finally settled whether the ornaments, generally supposed to be characteristics of Anglo-Norman architecture, had not been used in England and other countries in times anterior to the Norman Conquest. One point, at least, I trust I can determine with certainty, namely, that the Irish, anterior to the eleventh century, not only built decorated churches, but also used some of the ornaments, now generally supposed to be characteristic features of the churches erected in England by the Anglo-Normans (p. 197).

This contention Dr. Petrie supports by a variety of arguments, in particular by finding a possible origin for these forms of decoration (as used, for instance, in the doorways of the Round Towers at Kildare and Timahoe) in late Roman work in the east or west of the Empire—the chevron as an ornament of arches in a Syrian MS. of 586, on an early arch in Syria, and in the palace of Diocletian at Spalato; the pediment over the semicircular-headed doorway of a temple on a coin of A.D. 301; lozenge-panelling enriched with rosettes in fragments of Roman architecture at Poitiers; and heads on capitals in the Syrian MS. just mentioned; all these occur on one or other of the doorways in the above-named Round Towers. He points to the close resemblance between certain ornaments found in Irish Romanesque work and those

DOORWAY OF ROUND TOWER, TIMAHOE (PP. 59, 112 ETC., 125).

WINDOW OF CROFT AT RAHAN (LARGER CHURCH)
(PP. 114 ETC., 128).

To face p. 112

used in MSS., on reliquaries, stone crosses, and tombstones, dating from a time long before the Norman Conquest of England, and contends that the work in the churches "must, in some instances, be contemporaneous with those monuments" (pp. 232, 233). He sees differences of importance in the carving on Irish buildings which are certainly later than the development of Norman architecture in Normandy and England from other Irish Romanesque work, to which he accordingly assigns an earlier date. Finally, the whole theory is supported by an attempt to assign, upon historical evidence, early dates to certain decorated Irish buildings of Romanesque character.

As regards Petrie's general style of argument, it shews much candour and a desire to avoid dogmatism; if his theory is incorrect, he says, the evidences adduced and their discussion "must equally tend to the discovery of truth as if they had been themselves incontrovertible" (p. 240). At the same time one cannot help feeling that the reasoning is often not really close or cogent, and that what is plainly a hypothesis (perhaps with little or no sure foundation) is sometimes, a few pages later on, treated as something like a proved fact. It is also very evident (as, for instance, from his words already quoted) that the determination of dates in architecture generally had not, in 1845, been worked out far enough to give an enquirer into one part of it a solid foundation to build upon; he was still in the period when Norman buildings were commonly described as 'Saxon.'

The uncertain nature of the evidence from Irish masonry has been already discussed. As to the derivation of many among the ornaments used in Irish Romanesque work from late Roman or Syrian buildings, this is equally allowed as regards developed Norman architecture, and Ireland is not singular in employing the ornaments named.¹ The pediment over a round-headed doorway is found not only at Kildare—and elsewhere in Ireland, as at Freshford and Clonfert—but in England, for instance, at Glastonbury, and at St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, in Kent; it is, no doubt, of classical origin. Again, rosettes in lozenges not unlike those at Kildare—and under the chancel arch at Kilmalkedar—are found in England, for instance, on the soffits of the chancel arch

¹ The influence upon Europe, at this period, of such work as is found, for instance, in Central Syria is probably in great measure due to the Crusades. There are many other parallels, in detail, between Romanesque, Transitional, and Gothic architecture, on the one hand, and Roman work on the other—among them the carved tympanum, elementary plate tracery, twisted columns, beads as ornaments, the rope-moulding, and foliage which strikingly resembles that of the Transition. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, vol. viii, pp. 175 and 182; Parker, *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, p. 92: also De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, for examples.

and the west tower-arch of Broadwater Church, near Worthing; on the font at New Shoreham Church they are in triangles (or halved lozenges), as they are also above the doorway at Clonfert. As to the use of heads either to form capitals or carved upon them, instances of the former kind are to be found in the apse of Norwich Cathedral and at Castle Rising, Norfolk; at Barfreston, near Dover, flat faces cover the east and the west front of the square capitals (if capitals they can be called) of pilasters on each side of the north doorway to the nave¹—these are much like those under the chancel arch of Tuam Cathedral: while faces form part of the ornament of capitals in various English churches, such as St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford; at Old Shoreham one specimen bears a marked resemblance to Irish examples in the working in of the hair to the general decoration of the capital, and there is another instance of this on the corner of a carved abacus at Wroxham, near Norwich.² The doorway of the Round Tower at Timahoe appears to stand by itself in having heads on some of the bases as well; but the tendency to copy in the base features of the capital is natural, and is not uncommon in architecture.³ The chevron was certainly a common pattern in various lands at very early periods; it is found in ancient Egypt, as well as in Roman work so far back at least as the III century A.D.; and we have seen that it is used in Ireland in the Book of Kells—and even at New Grange, as well as on gold ornaments believed to date from many centuries before the Christian era. But the special fondness for its use in stone-carving, making it, both in England and in Ireland, at a stage or stages in their architecture, the predominant ornamentation, and the general resemblance of the forms in which it was employed in Ireland to those found in England and in Normandy, would, if a mere coincidence, be a very startling one.

The distinction in style which Dr. Petrie draws between the ornamented churches in Ireland which he considers independent of Norman influence and those which he thinks to be indebted to it appears to be very difficult to maintain. The human heads, sometimes of a grotesque kind, seemed to him to be of very early date as occurring on capitals in the doorway of the Round Tower at Timahoe, and beneath the chancel arch of St. Saviour's, Glendalough, and of the larger church at Rahan;

¹ This is the only instance of this precise treatment that I know of in England; the church is late Norman, with distinct marks of the Transition; but, of course, there may possibly be (or, probably have been) earlier examples.

² The possibility of a back eddy of influence—in detail—from Ireland naturally occurs; but in such counties as Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk this is very improbable.

³ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 449.

PART OF CHANCEL ARCH AND EAST WINDOW, ST. SAVIOUR'S, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 114 ETC., 119, 125, 128).

LOWER PART OF ROUND TOWER, KILDARE
(PP. 59, 115, 211, 212).

CHANCEL ARCH OF TEAMPULL FINGHIN, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 60, 116, 202, 208 ETC.).

To face p. 114

EAST END OF THE 'PRIEST'S HOUSE,' GLENDALOUGH (OUTSIDE) (PP. 116 ETC., 128).

3

CHANCEL ARCH, RAHAN (LARGER CHURCH)
(PP. 114 ETC., 118, 124, 125).

To face p. 114

but something like them is found (as we have just seen) similarly placed at Tuam, in work which he attributes to a date between 1128 and 1150 A.D.¹ The stopped-up arch in the Cathedral at Killaloe,² which is of unmistakably Norman character, combines this with a sort of subordinate lacework shewing Irish spiral patterns.

But of course any considerations of analogy and probability, however strong, could not outweigh distinct and absolute proof that certain buildings in Ireland, shewing apparently some of the characteristics of later Norman architecture, are—in their present state—really older than the appearance of these features in Normandy and England, though in this case we should, I think, have to derive developed Norman architecture from Ireland—an influence not very easy to account for or to believe. Such proof Petrie thought that he had found, particularly in the case of the doorway in the Round Tower at Kildare. That tower is mentioned by "Gerald the Welshman," writing in 1188 (he was in Ireland in 1184) in terms which Petrie thought to imply that it was then believed to be of great antiquity.³ But the words do not seem naturally to carry any such meaning. Further, it appears to be impossible to prove that the doorway may not be later than the greater part of the Tower; or, on the other hand, that the whole Tower, as it stands, is not of the date which the doorway suggests.⁴ The proofs of date which Petrie brings forward for other buildings (I leave out for the present the chancel of St. Caimin's Church on Iniscealtra) are not cogent, turning as they do upon the presumption that the rebuilding of a church would certainly have been mentioned, if it had occurred. We have spoken of this argument before;⁵ it has led to various impossible conclusions, enshrined in local guide-books, about many English churches. It is on this reasoning that Petrie assigns the chancel of the larger church at Rahan, in spite of the window highly ornamented with chevron and bead, to the VIII

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 314. Ware, *Bishops*, p. 601, says (but on what authority is not known) that it was built "about 1152."

² This is said by tradition to belong to the tomb of a king who died in 1123; it looks later than this date.

³ "A tempore Brigidae falco quidam egregius locum istum frequentabat, qui et ecclesiasticae turris summitati insidere consueverat. Unde et a populo avis Brigidae vocabatur, et in veneratione quadam a cunctis habebatur" (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topog. Hib.* ii, c. 37). I do not see that this at all necessarily implies that the tower was even believed to be then of great age; when it was built, it would form an attractive perch. And in the rest of the account it is the site or church and not the Tower that is emphasized as being haunted by the falcon (or, as we should say, by successive generations of falcons)—"ecclesiam quam frequentabat"; "ad ecclesiam revertebatur."

⁴ See note added to Appendix F, *Teampull Finghin* and its Tower.

⁵ See p. 30 etc.

century, and that of *Teampull Finghin* at Clonmacnois to a date before 1015, when a church of that name is mentioned. The building last named shews an elaborate arch which is to all appearance of Norman character,¹ and one of the pillars on which this rests has capitals carved in such a way as to resemble an 'Irish crown.' There are capitals almost exactly like it in Norman doorways at Tortington, in Sussex, and at St. Peter's, Northampton, as well as at New Shoreham, and another very similar one at Wimborne Minster. Not that Irish Romanesque is an exact copy of a foreign style; flat pilasters, for instance, are, far more frequently than in England, used instead of rounded pillars, and the Irish column has very often no proper capital, but only what seems like a fragment of entablature. However, the real capitals (and even sometimes those which are nearly cubical in outline) constantly appear to shew imitation of Norman work—as in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel—particularly of the scallop. It appears that very clear evidence indeed would be required to prove the independence of this Irish ornamented architecture, "so like Norman." And yet all the buildings (so far as I can discover) in the style called Irish Romanesque whose date can—within narrow limits of time—be determined with something like certainty, fall in the XII century. Thus Cormac's Chapel was consecrated, in all probability as it stands, in 1134;² the re-building of the Nun's Church³ at Clonmacnoise was finished in or about 1167 or 1180; Jerpoint Abbey (according to the evidence) was founded about 1155 or 1158;⁴ and we shall see reason to believe that most (at all events) of the Romanesque work at Glendalough was built about the middle of the XII century. All these shew a marked relationship to Norman architecture, while all have in varying degrees distinct Irish peculiarities.

The theory as to the early date of some Irish Romanesque churches advanced by Dr. Petrie in 1845⁵ is still firmly held by many in Ireland—sometimes without the limitations and reservations which he then expressed—and is constantly treated in guide-books as proved fact.

¹ Except the innermost order, which probably dates from a 'restoration' in the XVII century; the Cathedral close by was, according to an inscription there, 'restored' in 1647.

² 1134, *Annals of the Four Masters* and *Annals of Innisfallen*. 1135, *Annals of Lough Cé*, besides other notices.

³ There was such a church in the previous century; in 1082, "the cemetery of the Nuns of Clonmacnoise was burned, with its stone church, and with the eastern third of the establishment" (*Annals of the Four Masters*). "1167. The church of the Nuns at Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Dearbhforgaill (Devorgilla), daughter of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn" (*Annals of the Four Masters*); the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, however, give the date as 1180.

⁴ See Appendix T.

⁵ Brash accepts the theory in outline, but he does not appear really to add anything

But for this it would hardly have been necessary to deal with its original form at any length, for it was at least greatly modified later on by its author, and the change of view was, as one would expect from him, candidly stated—to adopt his own words, used of some English antiquarians, “he does not love the glory of his country better than truth.” In a letter written to Lord Dunraven in 1864, referring to the dates assigned by Parker to Romanesque buildings at Glendalough, Dr. Petrie says:

You may remember that in the very last conversation I had the pleasure of holding with you I told you that in many instances my opinions respecting the ages of *ornamented* churches were changed or modified; and as the most striking instance of such change I distinctly named the ornamented buildings of Glendalough. The truth is that very many years ago I had come to the conclusion that my speculations—for they were only such—as to the age of some of these buildings were not sustainable; that there were in them—however mixed with ornaments of a purely Irish character—others so decidedly Norman and un-Irish that it would be an utter folly to uphold any longer the conjecture that they might be of an ante-Norman period. But I confess what removed all doubt upon the subject from my mind was a passage which I met with some years ago in reading the life of St. Laurence O'Toole in Messingham's *Florilegium*—a passage which had escaped my notice, or been forgotten, when I was writing “The Towers.” The passage occurs in cap. ix, where, after describing the great famine experienced by the poor of Glendalough and its neighbourhood while the saint was abbot there, it tells us how the good abbot spent the great riches of the abbey and a treasure deposited with him by his father, “*Pauperibus nutriendis et ecclesiis aedificandis*.” These two words were as a perfect flood of light poured into my mind.

He then mentions the particular buildings at Glendalough about whose age his opinion was changed. The biographer, indeed, adds that:

it is, however, by no means to be inferred from these letters that Petrie's views as to the existence of a decorated church architecture in Ireland in times previous to the Norman period had undergone any great change.¹

Even if this was the case, yet Petrie's change of view, as definitely stated by himself, tears a great gap out of his argument. For the chancel of the Cathedral, the ‘Priest's House,’ and the chancel arch of St. Saviour's, all at Glendalough, and expressly attributed to St. Laurence

towards proving it, though he shews—what in all probability no one would now dispute—that churches having apparently Norman characteristics were built in Ireland before the English invasion.

¹ William Stokes, *The Life and Labours in Art and Archaeology of George Petrie*, pp. 182, 184. St. Laurence O'Toole became Abbot of Glendalough about 1157 and Archbishop of Dublin in 1161; see G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 178.

O'Toole in the letter, are in the *Ecclesiastical Architecture* classed among the pre-Norman Irish Romanesque buildings. This plainly suggests that the distinction made by Petrie between the two styles of building does not in fact exist. If St. Saviour's chancel arch and the other buildings shewing a mixture of Norman with Irish ideas (zigzag and scallop combined with elaborate key-pattern, spiral ornaments, and so on) are of XII century date, there seems to be no reason why other work which shews a similar combination in varying proportions (for instance, at Timahoe and at Rahan) should not also be indebted to Norman architecture. And this intermixture prevails, I believe, in all the churches in question. The words which Petrie uses in describing some of these buildings appear to form an excellent description of the style generally.

Owing perhaps to Dr. Petrie's change of view, a modified theory has more recently been advocated by Miss Stokes. In the appendix to Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (vol. ii, p. 189), speaking of the chancel of St. Caimin's, Iniscealtra, which Dr. Petrie thought to have been built by King Brian Boru about or soon after A.D. 1000 (he was killed at Clontarf in 1014), she says: "Then it was that the Romanesque wave passed direct from Normandy into Ireland." This modification appears to be still less credible than the original theory. There is no proof or indication that there were any buildings at that date in Normandy which could have been models for Irish ornamented Romanesque, as we find it.¹ Plainly, a "wave" passing over to Ireland before such work appeared in Normandy cannot have carried it to the island.

The work of St. Caimin's chancel could perhaps in any case hardly bear the weight of the whole argument; but it will be right to take into consideration this curious and interesting building. It is of ashlar—very unlike the masonry of the nave²—and had a row of beads below the cornice outside, somewhat as at Temple-na-Hoe, Ardfert, which appears to be a distinctly Norman building. So far there is nothing very strange—unless it be the supposed date—but the capitals (or the pieces of entablature occupying their place) which carry the chancel arch, of three plain square orders, are of an unusual kind. They appear clearly to be adapted from the Egg and Tongue ornament, and may have been imitated directly from classical work; but the Egg and Tongue is also used on a church at Alet,³ in the south of France, believed to be of the XI century. However, the interval between the 'Eggs' in St.

¹ See e.g. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, v, p. 620, etc.

² See p. 102.

³ See Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 54.

CHANCEL OF CATHEDRAL, GLENDALOUGH (PP. 117, 128).

CHANCEL ARCH OF THE NUNS' CHURCH, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 116, 124 ETC., 129).

OUTSIDE OF EAST WINDOW, ST. SAVIOUR'S, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 117, 124, 127, 128).

Caimin's is filled in with ornament, which in some places takes the form of grotesque human heads.¹ As to this church Keating writes (quoting, it is supposed, from an ancient life of Brian Boru, written by MacLiag, his secretary): "It was Brian also who built the church of Cill Dalua [Killaloe]² and the Church of Inis Cealltrach, and restored the tower of Tuaim Greine"³ [Tomgraney]. And the Rev. James Graves, in a letter, wrote of it:

This chancel arch is in my opinion decidedly earlier work than the dated example of Cormac's Chapel, I should say fully a century earlier; that it is the work inserted by King Brian, I have no doubt. It presents none of the profuse surface ornament of twelfth-century work, and the square-cut plain orders of the arch appear to be very early work, as well as the capitals.⁴

Now "square-cut plain orders" are to be found in XII century work in England—I may instance the arches under the tower at New Shoreham—and, in Ireland, they are found in the late Romanesque or Transitional arch at Inismain, and in a pointed doorway at Ballintober Abbey, founded in 1216. The same type of capital is found again in the doorway at Clonkeen, combined with chevron on the arch above and chevron edged with beads on its hood-mould as well as on the shaft below. And the bases of the columns at St. Caimin's, with their bead ornaments, are of a better and more finished design than many Irish Romanesque bases—they are, in general, a good deal like one of the bases at St. Saviour's, Glendalough; they have laid over their rounded corners 'foot-ornaments' of an Irish type, much like those on certain bases at Clonmacnois, and others in the panelling of the nave at Kilmalkedar; these look as if, finding no room upon the plinth, they had crept up higher; if they are, as appears certain, imitations of the Norman 'foot-ornament,' they suggest—though they do not prove—a rather late date.⁵ Now no church in the country was more exposed to ruin from the Danes than that on the Holy Island in Lough Derg, so long as they swept the Shannon with their fleets. And as to the historical record, plainly it does not at all necessarily carry the meaning above attributed to it. It is possible that Brian may have built a chancel which later on was superseded; it is possible that he repaired or rebuilt the nave

¹ The ornament is more evident on the inner sides—the western face is a good deal worn by weather. These pillars are not very correctly copied in Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture*.

² Not, of course, the present cathedral.

³ Keating, *The History of Ireland*, iii, p. 263, edited, with translation and notes, by D. Comyn and P. S. Dinneen.

⁴ Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 56.

⁵ See also Appendix Z.

more or less as it now stands, retaining earlier features in the building;¹ it is possible that he built the church (with or without a chancel), which of course might be altered or added to in later times. And one of the two latter suppositions gives a more natural meaning to the account, if, as is probable, we have it correctly given in our secondary authority.

The contention that Norman ornaments, as well as the general inspiration to decorate the churches more freely with carving, came to Ireland from Normandy, and not from England, is of course hard to disprove. There was much exchange of ideas between different countries in the Middle Ages; and travellers, if they did not always carry sketch-books (like the architect Wilars de Honecort in the XIII century²), had at least eyes and memories. But there appears to be no reason for preferring this connection to the more obvious one with England. Bristol did a great trade with Ireland; Danish sees, such as Dublin and Limerick, were more or less dependent upon the English Church—Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, from before 1110 to 1140, is said to have been a monk of Westminster,³ the Bishops of Dublin before 1163 were consecrated at Canterbury; St. Malachy, the great introducer of foreign ecclesiastical ways into Ireland in the XII century, was in touch not only with Clairvaux and with Rome, but with England, partly through the Bishop of Lismore, who had been a monk at Winchester, and Cormac, King of Munster (who just afterwards built the Chapel at Cashel) knew both these men when he took refuge at Lismore.⁴ New ideas of architectural ornament would be most naturally derived in the main from that neighbouring country with which Ireland had, even before Strongbow's invasion, a very close connection.

But, as has been suggested already, it would be a great mistake to suppose that XII century Irish architecture is in general a mere copy of that which is found in England or Normandy of about the same period. At Cormac's Chapel, for instance, the square transverse ribs of the barrel vault over the nave and the moulded diagonal vaulting-ribs of the chancel, as well as the radiating pointed arch which carries the external roof, are parts of a building which is in plan the direct descendant

¹ Brash says, "The terms 'erect' and 'build' are frequently used in our annals for 'repair' and 're-edify.'"—*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 18.

² See *Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort*, edited by Rev. R. Willis.

³ He had also studied under St. Anselm at Bec in Normandy.

⁴ See Ware, *Bishops*; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, *St. Malachy*; Dowd, *St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick*, p. 8, etc.; Stephens, *A History of the English Church from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I*, pp. 56, 104, 129.

PART OF CHANCEL ARCH AND NAVE, ST. CAIMIN'S, INISCALTRA (PP. 39, 77, 118 ETC.,
125 ETC.; AND SEE PL. LVII, DOORWAY, CLONKEEN).

of those with double stone roofs already described, such as the self-contained monastery at Kells; the Chapel agrees with the earlier examples even in having been three-storied, though at Cashel the wooden floor divided the space above the inner stone roof, and at Kells that below it. So too the round apse did not establish itself in Ireland along with Norman ornament, though there is an oblong compartment at Cashel, east of the chancel, just large enough to hold the altar—the strange fragment of building jutting out to the east of the chancel arch at Kilmalkedar is plainly what remains of a similar recess which a somewhat later chancel superseded.¹ Cormac's Chapel contains capitals more like the usual Norman types than many which are found in Irish Romanesque buildings, but even these are not precisely similar; and the pilasters in the nave, in spite of the zigzags, lozenges, and chequers cut on them, are distinctively Irish; they are in general effect somewhat like those on the west front of Ardfert Cathedral. Except for the square towers which stand as transepts to it—much like those which stood on each side of the nave in the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral of Canterbury,² or those at Exeter Cathedral, begun in 1112—the chapel is essentially an Irish building, in spite of its doorways and arcading and mouldings, and the scallop and chevron and billet and bead with which it is ornamented.

In Cormac's Chapel the Irish double stone roof may be said to be perfected in construction. We have already seen that loading the sides of the barrel-vault not only supplies a level floor above, but neutralizes the thrust of the arch. But as to the outer stone roof, this, in such examples as that at Glendalough—partly too at Kells—has no true arch to support it, and depends largely upon the mortar for its stability. In Cormac's Chapel the outer roof—of sandstone slabs about 8 inches thick—is carried upon a regular pointed arch, rather narrow in proportion to its height, the space between the crown of this and the outer roof being filled up with rubble. The height of the outer roof (and its weight) is somewhat reduced by its being slightly bent in some distance below the top. And besides this, in order to lessen the still enormous weight, the pointed arch is built of a lighter material. This is often called 'calc-tufa'; no place is pointed out anywhere near where such stone naturally occurs, but locally it is said to be a composition taken from the bottom of some lake the water of which would supply a limestone deposit (there is said to be a large amount of such mud in Lough Neagh), and the

¹ There are said to be similar 'square apses' at Clamecy, near Nevers, and at Laon in France, also at Sion in Switzerland. Dunraven, as above, vol. ii, p. 74.

² See Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 10, 11, 27, 29.

account seems reasonable and probable. The advantage of using such material is plain; in the same way tufa, "a deposit of so-called petrifying springs issuing from limestone," which "is excessively soft when quarried but hardens in the air," was used in the Lady Chapel of Worcester Cathedral and elsewhere,¹ and hard chalk or 'clunch' at Chichester Cathedral and at New Shoreham for the spaces between the ribs of the vaulting. The joints of the outer roof of Cormac's Chapel are made not to correspond with those of the arch supporting it, so as to prevent moisture percolating. There are no buttresses, but the walls are very thick, and the towers of course act as abutments. The Chapel is in general design an Irish building, and there is much that is distinctively Irish in its ornamentation.² On the other hand it has more affinity in detail with ordinary Norman work than many Irish Romanesque buildings, some of which are later—for instance, the Nun's Church at Clonmacnois. This comes out clearly in the use of vaulting-ribs at Cashel and in the character of the north porch, particularly in the fact that the shafts of pillars at the sides of this are formed of separate stones—some have been detached and are lost. Irish Romanesque shews a great deal of variety in its resemblance to Norman work as well as in other particulars. It is, however, more or less possible to give a general view of its characteristics.

In general the plan of Irish Romanesque buildings follows the old lines—a nave and square-ended chancel without aisles. In fact it may be said that the ornament, partly of Norman character, is merely cut out of or laid on to an Irish church. The croft above the chancel is found at Rahan and even at Jerpoint Abbey;³ we shall have to notice still later instances of it. The plan of the church at Inismain (which has a late Irish Romanesque or Transitional chancel arch) with its rooms attached to form one (at least) of the transepts, carries out the same combination of church and chambers in a different form. And the square-headed doorway there with sloping sides is itself a strong instance of Irish conservatism—like windows in the later Round Towers. Then there are the single stone roofs—as at Kilmalkedar, where they covered both nave and chancel—which are like those in earlier Irish buildings; as are also the barrel vaults, whatever roof they had above them, as at Tuam—the building of these went on till a far later date.

¹ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 303, 304.

² See also Appendix Q, Warming apparatus in Cormac's Chapel.

³ It is also not uncommon in English churches of this period, but there is obviously no need to derive the Irish instances from the English examples. See Appendix R, Intermixture of Church and Dwelling; also Appendix S, Date of St. Flannan's, Killaloe.

THE ROCK OF CASHEL FROM THE SOUTH-EAST; CORMAC'S CHAPEL, CATHEDRAL, AND
ROUND TOWER (PP. 120 ETC.; 158, 193; AND 61).

CROFT OVER CORMAC'S CHAPEL, CASHEL (LOOKING
EAST) (PP. 116, 120 ETC.).

CHANCEL AND ALTAR-COMPARTMENT, CORMAC'S CHAPEL (PP. 120 ETC., 129).

DOORWAY, CLONKEEN CHURCH (PP. 119, 127, 129; AND SEE PL. LV).

The *antae*, or corner-pilasters, are still used, as at Clonfert and Freshford; at Roscrea, where they are moulded at the corners; and at Kilmalkedar, where they extend partly up the line of the gable. But at the east end of the chancel at Tomgraney, at all four corners of the nave of Temple-na-Hoe, Ardfert, at the east corners of the chancel at Monaincha (where they are triplets) and near its western end, the place of these is taken by slender shafts with capitals, projecting from and finishing off the corners of the walls; at Ardfert these support a string-course decorated with beads. There is something like this at the corners of the chancel at St. Mary's, Leicester, where two shafts are, so to speak, laid on to each corner, and in the lower part of the tower at Kirkstall Abbey, and on the north transept of Durham Cathedral, where there is a single shaft at the corners. But in all these cases the shaft is (or appears to be) cut out of a flat buttress thickening or covering the corner; in Ireland, where buttresses are for the most part eschewed, the corner of the building as a rule simply terminates in a shaft, though at Banagher this is inserted in the corner.¹

Except the *antae*, buttresses of this period are at least very uncommon; since the walls are usually very thick, they are for the most part not required.² On the other hand there is sometimes, as in the early work and in the Round Towers, a plinth; for instance, at Monaincha, at Ullard, and on the north side of the chancel at Tomgraney. The brackets at the east and west ends which we noticed at Glendalough (p. 46) lived through the Romanesque period, and still appear, in a more refined form, on Melaghlin's Church at Clonmacnois, a Transitional building; here, as in the majority of the churches, the roof was of wood. The sloping sides of openings, which are found in the early

¹ The only precise English parallel that I know of to the Irish use of pillars terminating the corners is at St. Peter's, Northampton, where the triplets of pillars (somewhat like those attached to the chancel at Monaincha), acting as buttresses to the tower at its western corners below, are in the uppermost part of the tower reduced each to a single pillar. But this example appears to be unique in England; and in any case the upper part of the tower is, as it stands, too late to be in any way the source of this rather common Irish way of terminating—and decorating—the corners of a church.

² The church at Ullard, which stands on a slope, has suffered greatly from the want of them, the north wall of its nave slopes alarmingly. Its wide chancel arch (which was pointed) has been reduced to a narrow low arch (which is semi-circular); the thrust is reduced practically to nothing. At some time or other buttresses have been added.

The stopping up of the old chancel arch is the more to be regretted since there is at the spring of the arch a chamfered impost, with good Romanesque carving on the chamfer—which is unusual.

The same failure in the building may have caused a change in the west doorway, where below what would have been a tympanum there is now a new inner arch.

dry-stone buildings of Ireland, still occur, not only at Inismain, but in the chancel arch of St. Caimin's, in the splendid doorway of Clonfert Cathedral, at Monaincha both in doorway and chancel arch, and in a window of the small church at Rahan, besides other examples.

Sometimes, as in the north porch of Cormac's Chapel and the west doorway at Aghadoe, shafts are used which are obviously of stones separate from the rest of the doorway. But, as a rule, the general effect produced by the sides of doorways and chancel arches (as in the Nun's Church at Clonmacnois) is that these have just been cut out of an opening receding by square steps or 'orders,' following their outline as closely as may be—as if the object had been to lose as little stone as possible. Thus, though there is usually a distinct abacus below the arch, the rest of the capital is often little more than a block with ornament carved on it—incised, or in low relief. Even where a cushion or a scalloped capital has been imitated, the general outline is often not far removed from a cube. And (until we reach Transitional work) there are, in Ireland, few signs of that imitation of the Corinthian or Composite capital which is so common in Norman building. For decoration the Irish artist, as before, usually (though not invariably) avoids anything like naturalistic ornament, preferring spiral, key, or interlaced patterns, which not unfrequently remind one of the High Crosses or the grave-slabs. Beneath the chancel arch of the larger church at Rahan, the beads which stand out under the abacus are really made by combining three curved pear-shaped ornaments or leaves, and there are some similar beads among those in the same position below the chancel arch in the Nun's Church at Clonmacnois (though others take the form of heads); these seem to be derived from the triple spiral commonly used in the centre of crosses on grave-stones, but in outline they bear considerable resemblance to the ball-flower which was used in France, and very occasionally in England,¹ in the twelfth century; ornaments of similar shape, but varying in detail, are carved round the under side of the hood-mould over the east window of St. Saviour's, Glendalough. The pillars are by no means always part of a round, some of them take the form of flat pilasters or are octagonal, as in the doorway at Clonfert. The pillars or pilasters are often decorated all over with patterns, incised or in low relief. This ornament (as has been said already) is frequently of chevron or lozenge-pattern; but it is, for all that, often of distinctly Irish character. On the jambs of the doorway at Monaincha²

¹ See Parker, *Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, p. 14.

² "Gerald the Welshman" mentions this monastery, in connection with the belief that no one could die on the island, in *Topographia Hibernica*, II, iv. The chapel on it was served by "pauci coelibes, quos Coelicolas vel Colideos vocant;" this would be in

there are (as we have seen), besides chevron, also a foliage-pattern in spirals as well as a form of the palmette.

At Rahan, below the arch already mentioned, the innermost part of the pier is cut into small shafts at the corners, like the piers of the nave in Limerick Cathedral and of the western part of the nave at Jerpoint Abbey; or, like some late Norman or Transitional buttresses, as at Chichester and Dunstable and Glastonbury.

As regards the bases, the bottom of the jamb, like the top, is often kept as square as possible in outline. Many of the bases are exceedingly simple, though in other cases they are carefully designed and elaborately ornamented, as under the chancel arch of St. Caimin's (already mentioned), and of St. Saviour's, Glendalough, where no two of them are alike. Sometimes they assume an elongated 'bulbous' form, like part of a Saxon baluster-shaft, as if turned in a lathe. This is the case below the corner-shafts at Rahan, beneath the chancel arch of the Nun's Church at Clonmacnois, and elsewhere; it is conspicuous on some of the corner-shafts of the splendid doorway of the Round Tower at Timahoe. But in this doorway there are other peculiarities; upon the corner of the outermost jamb (on one side, at all events), below the shaft, two heads have been carved, one above the other; further in there are single heads enlarging the lower part of two corresponding shafts, giving the effect of a kind of supplementary upper base. There are heads as capitals on all the shafts, as is not uncommon, and as seems more or less appropriate, but their use on bases is certainly strange. It may probably be an extreme instance of the tendency to reproduce capitals more or less closely as bases. Thus one (at least) of the bases under the chancel arch at St. Saviour's, Glendalough, shews imitation of the scallop, and the influence of capital on base may be traced in Gothic architecture, both in Ireland and in England.¹ A common peculiarity of bases in Ireland has been already alluded to. The spur, foot-ornament, or *griffe*, is used in France and in England to fill up the corners of a square plinth on which a circular column rests; they become much commoner in later than they are in early Norman buildings and they last on into Transitional and even into XIII century work in England.² They are of

1183-1186 (See *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vol. v, edited by Dimock, introduction, pp. xlviii, xlix, and lxi); it was at the Dissolution "a monastery of canons of the Virgin Mary" (Archdall), these then lived not on the island, but at Corbally, a village on the mainland, about a mile away. The lake has now been drained. Unfortunately these notices do not give any certain ground for concluding the precise date of the present buildings. The real name of the Abbey was Inchenemeo, Monaincha being that of the estate on which its ruins stand.

¹ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 449, 689 (4), 693 (2).

² See Bond, as above, p. 455. Like so much else in Norman architecture, they seem to be classical in origin.

various designs—in the crypt of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, and at Islip, there are frogs, and lizards, or lizards' heads; at Iffley, one is a bird; at Bosham, in Sussex, some are like pieces of stuff; others again are in the shape of leaves, as at Islip and in some distinctly un-Irish Romanesque work upon the south side of the nave in Boyle Abbey, and this last is the form in which foot-ornaments were adopted in Ireland. But in Irish Romanesque plinth and base do not as a rule differ greatly in outline—the one is often more or less run into the other—and so there was no proper place for the *griffe*. Accordingly it is raised up higher—laid over the rounded corner of the base, as in the panelling of the nave at Kilmalkedar, on bases belonging to the west doorway at Clonmacnois, and elsewhere; on another base preserved at Clonmacnois (but out of its proper place) the leaves extend along the sides. In Salisbury Cathedral there are foot-ornaments which reach up on to the base in a somewhat similar, but not identical, fashion.

Plain mouldings are, before the work becomes more or less Transitional, not very extensively used; the square orders of the arches are usually cut into chevron, 'interrupted chevron,' or some similar Norman pattern, or into 'beak-heads,' but in some cases, notably in the doorway at Freshford, an elaborate 'battlement' pattern is used (like the later Irish battlements) and on the soffit (or under surface) of the arch there this is further elaborated, and combined so as to form a sort of cross. It appears (not doubled) on the door-jambs at Aghadoe and on a key-stone at St. Saviour's, Glendalough. The doubled form, like a cross, closely resembles patterns in the Book of Kells. A very plain form of the pattern is carved within the semi-circular tops of scallops in the nave of Hereford Cathedral, and on a capital at Dorchester, near Oxford. But in general this ornament, as opposed to the simple 'battlement' moulding, is rare in Norman architecture elsewhere,¹ though it is curious that it is used (as well as its simpler form) in the representations of a cornice and arches in a Greek MS. "of the IX or X century, as well as round a mosaic in the narthex of St. Sophia dating from the latter part of the VII century."² The soffit of the chancel arch at Kilmalkedar is decorated with rosettes, such as have been already mentioned in connection with the doorway of the Round Tower

¹ Parker says that this ornament "seems to be almost peculiarly Irish, though some specimens very similar occur among the fragments of the Norman buildings at Windsor Castle." *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1864, p. 414.

² Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, vol. v, pl. xxxiii; *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii, p. 1336.

ARCADING IN NAVE, CORMAC'S CHAPEL (P. 121).

CHANCEL ARCH (SHEWING REMAINS OF ALTAR-COM-
PARTMENT), FINIAL, AND WEST DOORWAY,
KILMALKEDAR CHURCH (PP. 121, 127,
129; AND SEE PL. LVII, 2).

TEMPLE-NA-HOE, ARDFERT (P. 123).

To face p. 126

WEST FRONT OF CHURCH, ROSCREA (PP. 123, 130).

WEST DOORWAY OF CHURCH, ULLARD (PP. 123 NOTE, 127, 129).

To face p. 126

at Kildare. Besides the main features of the ornament, the arches often have much subordinate decoration—such as lines running parallel to and emphasizing the zigzagged edges, and beads, of which the Irish made much use, whether by themselves or to enrich other carving.

On the whole, in the arches (which are almost always round) something like the ordinary Norman character may be said to predominate, and Irish characteristics in the shape and ornamentation of 'block-capitals' (or those fragments of entablature which often take the place of regular capitals) and on the jambs below. But this is by no means without exception—thus the shafts in the doorways at Aghadoe and Clonkeen, with their chevron and bead, are of an ordinary Norman type (much like two in the clerestory of the nave at Christchurch, Hampshire), while in the built-up doorway, stated by local tradition to be connected with the tomb of Murkertagh O'Brien, in Killaloe Cathedral, there is much decoration of Irish character, chiefly spiral, subordinate to the Norman ornament, on the arch as well as upon the columns (or jambs) below it; on some of the capitals in Cormac's Chapel the tops of scallops end in spirals. And, in general, Irish Romanesque work is often marked by special richness and delicacy in the ornamentation,¹ which was made possible by their having, in their small churches of simple plan, only small spaces calling for decoration; but at the same time it brings out the artistic qualities of the race that executed the Irish Crosses. It might indeed be objected by the critical that the carving is sometimes too delicate to produce its due effect, even though it is very seldom at any great height; the marvellous decoration of the Book of Kells would be liable to similar criticism.

The combination of a lintel with a relieving arch above naturally produces a tympanum, as on the inside of the west doorways at Banagher and Maghera. There are instances of this also in the churches which certainly belong to the XII century; the space over the north door of Cormac's Chapel has on the outside an elaborate symbolical carving; at Kilmalkedar the tympanum is left plain on the outside; inside, it bears a truncated head; the doorway at Ullard, which has a small inner arch, appears to have undergone alteration.²

The windows are very few in number, almost all on the east and south sides, round-headed, with a large splay on the inside. Often they are quite plain; sometimes they have on the outside a hood-mould

¹ There is some late Norman or Transitional work in England, as at Barfreton, Kent, at Hales, Norfolk, and Nun Monkton, Yorkshire, which shews scarcely less delicate elaboration, though it does not, of course, use the distinctive Irish patterns.

² See p. 123, note.

over them, which in the east window of *Teampull Muire* or St. Mary's Church, Glendalough, was ornamented beneath with a simple key-pattern (like that used at Christchurch, Dublin, and at St. David's). The carved beads in a similar position at St. Saviour's (a mile or so distant) have been already mentioned. The arch of this last window is recessed, and the jambs are cut into shafts supporting it, while in the oratory known as 'the Priests' House,' also at Glendalough, an arch, elaborately ornamented, enclosing the little east window, also acts as canopy to a seat underneath. Sometimes, as on the south side of the chancel of Banagher Church (Co. Londonderry), the bottom of the hood-mould is prolonged into a bit of string-course running out horizontally for some little distance on each side, like a very broad brim of a hat (the distinctly Transitional window in *Teampull Mor* on Devenish Island in Lough Erne has a similar hood-mould). The window at Banagher above-mentioned is built outside in large, slightly receding steps or 'orders,' which are rounded, producing a curious and rather heavy effect; the outside of the east window of the chancel there had somewhat similar mouldings. In many windows there is a flat surface recessed just outside the opening, which looks as if it were intended for a shutter to fit into, as no doubt it was. The fastening for such a shutter was found on one of the windows of the Round Tower of *Teampull Finghin*, Clonmacnois, just as the hooks still remain outside a similar window in the church at Clymping, Sussex. The circular window at Rahan, already mentioned, has a quatrefoil opening within; at St. Saviour's Church, as well in *Teampull-na-Skellig*, Glendalough (not to mention other examples), the east window is of two lights, cut out of flat stones;¹ all these are strikingly like the beginnings of plate tracery.

As to inside decoration, sometimes the edge of the splay is moulded, as in the east window at Ratass; sometimes, as in the south window of the chancel at Banagher just mentioned, there are also shallow mouldings outside the splay. The splay of the east window there is in six planes, elaborately ornamented with roll mouldings. The east window of the Cathedral at Glendalough was decorated with a chevron pattern on the splay;² at St. Saviour's there is (also in the east window), under

¹ There is a window of character and design generally similar to the one at Rahan in St. James', Bristol (see Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 516), and windows much like the one at Glendalough in the castle at Durham (this part is of the second half of the XII century) and—with pointed lights—in the Abbot's House at Kirkstall of similar date.

² There is a sketch, made in 1779, of a sort of carved frieze, running back from the spring of the arch along the inside of the east wall; hardly anything of it has been preserved. See Petrie, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 253, 254.

JAMB OF WEST DOORWAY AND XIII CENTURY WINDOW, MONAINCHA
(PP. 65, 104, 124, 125, 127; 142).

WINDOW, ST. SAVIOUR'S, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 127, 128).

WEST DOORWAY, FRESHFORD CHURCH
(PP. 126, 130).

WEST DOORWAY OF CATHEDRAL, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 126, 237 ETC.).

a hood-mould, elaborate ornamentation which extends on to the splay, as also does the beautiful and delicate carving at Tomgraney.¹ At Temple-na-Hoe, Ardfert, a window is enclosed with a border of flowers and other decoration in low relief, outside the splay. Those windows which are, so to speak, framed in a moulding, as at Inismain, Melaghlin's Church (Clonmacnois), and elsewhere, as well as the admirable window at Annaghdown, appear to be rather of Transitional character, though in some of these (as in the windows of Banagher chancel above mentioned) the Romanesque element very largely preponderates.

The elaborate arcading of Cormac's Chapel has been already mentioned. At Kilmalkedar the nave is panelled with half-columns and entablature in a most effective way, recalling classical examples (such as the Colosseum, the Porta Nigra at Trèves, and various tombs at Petra and in Palestine), or later imitations of these, such as the Palazzo delle Torre, Turin, or the apse of St. Sernin at Toulouse.² The round-headed windows are excellently worked into the scheme.

The old form of heart-shaped or winged finial, such as we saw it at Templemanaghan and at the Saint's Well near Freshford, was not yet extinct; an elaborately-carved specimen, which is plainly a development of this, formerly stood on the floor of the church at Kilmalkedar, and no doubt came from the gable to which it has now been restored; a smaller one—of uncertain date—is fastened up in St. Caimin's Church.

Of figure-sculpture there is a considerable amount. The heads on pillars have been already mentioned, and there are many good ones (some of which are grotesque) round the chancel arch and over the arch of the 'square apse' or altar-compartment in Cormac's Chapel, and above the doorways at Disert O'Dea (Co. Clare) and at Clonfert. Sometimes heads of animals or monsters are grotesquely truncated, as is the case on the tympanum inside the doorway at Kilmalkedar, also upon the ends of the hood-mould over the doorway of the smaller church at Rahan, at Clonkeen, and at Ullard, and in the same position on the chancel arch and doorway of the Nuns' Church, Clonmacnois. In 'St. Kevin's House,' Glendalough, are preserved one or two curious examples of such heads, which were found near the Cathedral; we have already noticed that one of the heads in the outer wall of *Teampull Chronain* is of a similar

¹ Some of the windows in the chancel at Tomgraney have obviously (at some time) been repaired with older materials—the stones do not fit. The north window is perfect. There are fragments of billet-mouldings in the church and churchyard for which apparently no use could be found.

² There are holes in the wall just above the panelling. It has been suggested that the panels had pictures in them, and that curtains were hung over these, which could be drawn aside when required. See pp. 27, 47.

type.¹ There are also full-length figures, as on the doorway at Freshford, besides carvings of animals, real or imaginary. But a more ambitious attempt is to be found on the west front of Ardmore Cathedral, where, in round-headed panels, some of which are grouped under larger round-headed arches, a number of scenes are carved in low relief, among which the Visit of the Magi, the Judgment of Solomon, and the Fall—the last-named represented in the usual form—are still fairly easy to make out. The details of this church are mainly of Transitional architecture, but there is a probability that these carvings belonged to a somewhat older church which has been more or less rebuilt—the arches do not seem made for the west wall, as it stands at present. The figure-sculpture is in many cases much ruined, but it often shews a very decided advance on that upon the High Crosses, while the other carving is frequently admirable; the doorway at Clonfert is perhaps the most excellent specimen of all in its ornamentation. It will be noticed that the pediment is edged with a cable-moulding, like some of the High Crosses (here it is double), and that the tops of the lower shafts are of distinctly Irish character, as is also the interlaced and spiral surface-decoration, while some of the capitals in the arcade above, and probably the twisted columns below, mark its debt to Norman architecture—the innermost part of the doorway (just round the door) belongs, of course, to a much later date.

The decoration of the west fronts is usually confined to the doorway, often flanked by *antae*. But, besides the work at Ardmore, mentioned above (where the doorway is near the west end of the nave's north wall), at Ardfert Cathedral the west front has arcading all across it at the bottom, the doorway forming part of the design, which now has a broken and unsymmetrical appearance, probably owing to the north wall of the nave having been rebuilt in a different position. At Roscrea there is a somewhat similar but more elaborate design, with door and arcading surmounted by pediments, and *antae* moulded at the corners—a most successful west front. The Round Towers of this period, such as those on Devenish Island and at Timahoe, have been already mentioned. Cormac's Chapel (as we have just noticed) has two square towers attached to it, but any such departure from Irish tradition appears at this period to have been rare.

The characteristics of Irish Romanesque architecture have been described in some detail, partly on account of the intrinsic interest which that style possesses, partly that those who are acquainted with Norman

¹ There are heads somewhat, but not altogether, similar in the north transept of Norwich Cathedral.

DRUM CHURCH, NEAR ATHLONE (PP. 29 AND 30 NOTE, AND 127).

EAST WINDOW, ST. MARY'S CHURCH, GLENDALOUGH
(PP. 128, 142).

SOUTH WINDOW IN NAVE OF TEMPLE-NA-HOE,
ARDFERT (P. 129).

NORTH WINDOW OF CHANCEL, TOMGRANEY (P. 129).

To face p. 130

WEST DOORWAY, CLONFERT
CATHEDRAL (PP. 101, 124,
130).

WEST FRONT, ARDFERT CATHEDRAL (P. 130).

WEST FRONT, ARDMORE CATHEDRAL (P. 130).

To face p. 130

architecture in England or in Normandy may be able to form their own opinion as to the amount of originality which the style in Ireland shews. Points in this style to which (so far as I know) no parallel can be found after such comparison are the Irish double stone roof,¹ the sloping sides of openings, and various Irish forms of decoration, all inherited from earlier work. But further, the Irish made their own selection—points rare in England are common in Ireland—and, besides this, there is very frequently such a vernacular turn given to some feature as to make it distinctively Irish, so that there could be no doubt to what country the work belongs; this is particularly striking in the various forms which the scalloped capital assumes. We shall find something like this position of things lasting on into the period of Transitional architecture (though it is somewhat less marked there, and in some buildings is largely or entirely absent) and returning in the Irish work of the XV century.

I have made no attempt to classify Irish Romanesque building (before the Transition makes itself felt) as earlier or later. The dated buildings do not appear to be numerous enough to give solid foundation for any such distinction, and calculations as to probable development must be either uncertain or fallacious when, at a short distance away, in a country with which Ireland had a close connection, a style of architecture more or less fully worked out was only waiting to be copied, so far as the Irish builders thought good to copy it (this consideration, as we saw, applies also more or less to the use of mortar and of the arch). It is probable—and there are signs that it is the fact—that Irish Romanesque work was more or was less vernacular according to local circumstances and the taste of the designers; this was (as we shall see) unquestionably the case in the Transitional period, and it would make calculations of date on the grounds of probability or analogy quite uncertain, at all events without more detailed evidence as to dates of typical buildings than is now available—or is ever likely to be. Estimates of earlier or later date in an Irish Romanesque building must be largely conjectural. But in general the borrowing by Irish

¹ Not a room above a vault with a wooden roof above; these are not uncommon in England at the corresponding period. See Appendix R, Intermixture of Church and Dwelling.

St. John's Chapel in the Tower of London has upper aisles with barrel vaults over them, and the upper aisles (or triforium) of the choir at Gloucester are covered with half barrel vaults, strengthened with ribs (much as in the nave of Cormac's Chapel); both these English examples have groined vaults below. St. Catharine's Chapel, at Abbotsbury, Dorset, has a stone roof over a pointed barrel, somewhat like the roof of Cormac's Chapel (see Bond, as above, p. 283, etc.). But there appears to be nothing quite like the Irish arrangement, which has its own history.

ornamented Romanesque appears to be from the later rather than the early Norman buildings. It has occurred to me that possibly the attention which Cormac's Chapel obviously excited in Ireland may have been partly due to its being more or less a new departure in architecture. But this is a suggestion the probability of which will be variously estimated.

Jerpoint Abbey was, according to very sufficient documentary evidence, founded about 1155 or 1158.¹ Here the beginning of a great change is visible. Pointed arches are freely used, and the old simple Irish church is discarded for a cruciform plan, with two chapels to the east of each transept, according to the usual Cistercian arrangement. The eastern part appears to have been, as usual, the first to be built. The east wall had probably in its upper part two windows in the centre (as at Ballintober and elsewhere), one above the other, and respectively over and under the vaulted roof; those in the lowest row (doubtless three in number), of which large traces remain, were edged with elaborate chevron, having in the middle of each zigzag a small cylinder or drop—like bits of radii of the semicircle—as in parts of the chancel arch of old Shoreham Church and in the doorway at Hales, Norfolk. They are connected by a string-course above, and by a string-course edged with beads below. But these features are combined with strongly Irish characteristics.

Above the round, rough barrel-vault of the chancel, which leaves room for an upper story (there are also rooms over the transept chapels) there was a stone roof, a part of which is retained as a support to the later battlements. The sedilia, though bordered with 'interrupted zigzag,' have an unusual appearance; but much more distinctively Irish are the block capitals of the piers, in the eastern part of the church, that is to say, between the transept chapels and the transepts, at the sides of the arches opening westwards on to the nave aisles, and on the eastern responds of the nave arcade. All of these follow very closely the square outline of their pier; most of them are obviously modelled to some extent on the scalloped capital, but this ornament, where it occurs, is completed with other decorative carving; the pattern upon one—that of the eastern respond at the north side of the nave—is something like an ornamental border on the tower of St. Peter's, Northampton. All is in low relief; conventional fleurs-de-lis occur upon one capital. The two first complete pillars of the nave (on the north and south), which are round, have square capitals distinctly marked; the scallops below

¹ See Appendix T, Date of Jerpoint Abbey.

are combined with an interlacing ribbon pattern, of classical affinity, ornamented with beads, above. (To these the block capital of the respond at the east end of the south side of the nave corresponds in ornament, though not in shape.) West of this (on the north side) there is another square pier, and then the arcade assumes an appearance more like ordinary Norman architecture. It is interesting to notice that there was no break of style when the aisles were begun, though they do not form part of the original plan of the church. The tower and its supports are much later in date; "towers of stone for bells"—or at all events very high ones—were forbidden by the Cistercian Statutes "as unbecoming to the simplicity of the Order";¹ later on, this regulation was less strictly observed.

The chancel has a square east end, and so have the two pairs of transept chapels, each of which is (according to the custom of Cistercian churches) completely built off from its neighbour. At Mellifont, the earliest Irish abbey of the Order, founded in 1142 through the influence of St. Malachy, and built under the direction of a Continental architect, or architects, four out of six of these chapels appear, from excavations made there, to have ended in semi-circular apses in the original building.² But the churches at Cîteaux itself, and at Vaux-de-Sernay and Fontenay, among early Cistercian abbeys, had square-ended chancels, while the last-named had all its transept chapels rectangular as well; and this influence from the Continent would be reinforced from England, where the Cistercian churches, as at Buildwas and Kirkstall, had rectangular east ends. Such a form was adopted at least in the great majority of early Cistercian churches, and

¹ "Turres lapideæ ad campanas non fiant, nec ligneæ altitudinis immoderatæ, quæ ordinis dedecent simplicitatem."

This is a regulation of A.D. 1256-1257, but no doubt expresses the general principle and practice of the century before. It seems, according to the most natural interpretation, to forbid bell-towers of stone altogether, but it *can* be taken otherwise and was usually thought to be sufficiently observed if the tower was not raised more than one story above the roof.

In 1134 sculptures and pictures in the churches and other buildings, as well as stained glass, were forbidden, according to the principles of simplicity held by the Order; on the other hand, the Cistercians laid stress upon good sound building.

See *Cistercian Statutes of 1256-1257, with Supplementary Notes of 1257-1288*, edited by J. T. Fowler; Manrique, *Annales Cistercienses*, especially i, pp. 275, 281; and *Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii*, c. xvii, in Tissier, *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium*, i, p. 8.

² Sir Thomas Deane, quoted in *Mellifont Abbey, its Ruins and Associations*, p. 9. See St. Bernard's letter in Migne, *Patres Latini*, vol. 181, p. 559, Epistola 357. For the date see Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 275; and *The Black Book of the Cathedral of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, in Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*, the authority last-named states that the Abbey was not dedicated until 1157.

was characteristic of them—Wilars de Honecort, about 1250, marks a plan of his, "This is a square church which was designed for the Cistercian Order." And this fact must have helped the square east end, traditional in Ireland, to maintain itself at the time when it would otherwise have run the greatest risk of alteration.¹

The type of cloister in which the inner wall is an arcade and not a series of windows, that carries, or is specially capable of carrying, a story above it—which is practical, as saving space, and unpretentious, and is probably of southern origin, such cloisters being common in Italy and the South of France—appears to have been usual in early monasteries of that Order,² and this may possibly be the principal reason why it became, as we shall see later on, an Irish tradition, but it is not confined to the Cistercians; the XII century cloisters of Boxgrove Priory, a Benedictine monastery in Sussex, were of this kind, and the Priory of Austin Canons, at Bridlington, also has something very similar, of late Norman date; so have the cloisters at Cong, near Lough Corrib, in Transitional architecture. Probably many of the earliest cloisters, as well as other domestic buildings, were of wood, for which stone was afterwards substituted.

The middle of the nave at Jerpoint was crossed by a stone screen, the 'ritual choir' being thus enlarged, and the aisles were shut off by walls built up between the pillars. This is usual in Cistercian churches,³ but to the west of the screen there is a special resemblance between this Irish church and that of Strata Florida in Cardiganshire (a Cistercian monastery founded in 1164 or in 1180),⁴ the pillars here being short, raised some few feet from the ground, and standing apparently upon a low wall which shut off this part of the aisles. Further signs of the connection between Ireland and south-west Wales will be noticed in the next chapter.

The windows, we may notice, were kept high up, which, whether this was or was not the original intention, in fact rendered the church more easily defensible, and we shall see that later on other steps were taken with the same object.

The western (and no doubt the latest) part of the church at

¹ See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, vol. i, p. 272, etc.; Willis, *Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort*, p. 81, and Pl. XXVII.

² Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture*, vol. iii, p. 419, etc. Mickelthwaite, *Of the Cistercian Plan*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii (1882) p. 245.

³ For the arrangements of a Cistercian Church and monastery in general, see Mickelthwaite, *Of the Cistercian Plan*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii (1882), p. 239, etc.

⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1846 ed., v, p. 632.

ARCH FROM TRANSEPT TO SOUTH AISLE AND PART OF
NAVE ARCADE, JERPOINT ABBEY (PP. 132, 133,
232 ETC.).

SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF NAVE, JERPOINT ABBEY
(PP. 132, 133, 232 ETC.).

SEDILIA AND PISCINA, JERPOINT ABBEY (PP. 132, 232 ETC.).

To face p. 134

CAPITAL BETWEEN NORTH TRANSEPT CHAPELS,
JERPOINT ABBEY (PP. 132, 133, 232 ETC.).

CAPITAL, AND CARVING IN CLOISTERS, JERPOINT ABBEY
(PP. 132, 133; 187).

NORTH-EAST CORNER OF NAVE, JERPOINT ABBEY (PP. 132, 232 ETC.).

To face p. 134

JERPOINT ABBEY, FROM THE WEST (PP. 132 ETC., 147, 166, 232 ETC.).

WESTERN PART OF NAVE ARCADE, JERPOINT ABBEY
(P. 134).

SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF NAVE, STRATA FLORIDA
(P. 134).

To face p. 134

Jerpoint differs but little from ordinary Norman building as found in England; part of the southern arcade of Boyle Abbey is still more closely similar. This Cistercian church was unusually long in reaching completion; though the community removed to this site in 1161, it was not consecrated till 1218 or 1220; it had been burnt or greatly injured by fire in 1202.¹ It is difficult or impossible to estimate with certainty the amount of permanent damage that was then done, but just as Norman pillars at Selby Abbey survived the recent fire, so those at Boyle may perhaps be the relics of a more or less completed Norman church there, most of which was soon afterwards rebuilt; it was the eastern part of a monastic church (as at Jerpoint) that was generally built first, for obvious reasons; and the rest of the church at Boyle is of later character than these pillars. The round pillars at Boyle, with octagonal scalloped capitals carrying round arches built in "square-cut plain orders," and with foot-ornaments much like some at St. Cross, Winchester,² at the corners of the bases, shew such a close similarity to Norman work in England, that they seem to point not merely to foreign influence, but to the presence of English (or, less probably, Norman) workmen, which, in a closely-knit Order by no means confined to Ireland, is not at all impossible. The rest of the work at Boyle is Transitional, and here Irish modifications of that style are strongly in evidence, as will be seen later on.

The invasion of Ireland by the English began in 1169. But it may perhaps be doubted whether this did not merely strengthen the foreign influences which already worked upon Irish architecture — fixing English forms as the main types to be copied — and hasten a change which was being made inevitable by travel, commerce, ecclesiastical connection, and especially by the introduction of monasteries belonging to a foreign Order, which, however much it might study simplicity, had larger ambitions in building than those which had hitherto prevailed in Ireland.

In the Romanesque period we do not find the same special affinity between Scottish and Irish work which we have noticed in earlier times. Some resemblance, of course, there is, and the jambs of St. Oran's Chapel on Iona have in their but slightly accentuated features a rather specially Irish appearance; such connection would, on that island, be at no time surprising. But in general what resemblance there is to be seen is probably due to the fact that both owe a large debt to Norman work

¹ See Appendix U, The Dates of certain Cistercian Churches.

² See Parker, *Glossary of Architecture*, ii, pl. 27.

in England. This was imitated more closely in Scotland; the vernacular character of Scottish Romanesque is far less marked than in Irish work of similar date; and there is little or no clear indication of any debt owed by Scotland generally to Ireland at this time. The room above a barrel vault at St. Martin's, Haddington (like the Round Tower at Abernethy) may well be, in Scotland as in Ireland, an imitation of earlier examples,¹ though parallels are to be found in England.²

We have now reached a point of time from which dated buildings will henceforth be sufficiently numerous to give us—for the most part—clear information as to the progress of architecture in Ireland. And it may be useful here to turn back and briefly to sum up such indications as we have noticed of the approximate dates of its earlier stages.

Dry-stone building, with the false or 'bee-hive' arch, begins (as we saw) long before the Christian era, though such construction goes on to a very much later date. In early Christian times stone-building was little used where wood was available, but after a time small stone churches of an improved kind began to be built—apparently about or shortly before A.D. 800. However, the earliest church still in part remaining to which a more or less certain date can be assigned—that at Tomgraney—is of somewhere about A.D. 950, the earliest Round Towers being probably of about the same period. The nave of St. Caimin's Church on Iniscealtra appears in all probability to be of about A.D. 1000, and the nave of Banagher Church to be of a date not very far removed from A.D. 1100, the oldest part of Cahon Abbey being assigned to that year.

We have seen that the improvement in the character and use of mortar, as well as the use of the arch, are uncertain marks of time, and the approximate dates mentioned above are obviously insufficient to enable us to form any very clear idea of the progress of early Irish architecture in detail, particularly since there is no reason to suppose that problems of building were invariably or usually worked out in Ireland without regard to the more perfect examples available in classical work or in copies made from it—what seem to be indications of earlier or later date may be due to the degree of skill, knowledge, and ambition in the designer or workman.

After this, Irish buildings shew evident traces of the influence of Norman architecture. It is, of course, possible that the earlier and the later style may have been used for a time simultaneously in different

¹ See Macgibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 362, etc.

² See Appendix R.

ARCH FROM TRANSEPT INTO SOUTH
CHOIR AISLE, CHRISTCHURCH,
DUBLIN (PP. 139 ETC.;
142, 143).

EAST WINDOWS OF MELAGHLIN'S CHURCH,
CLONMACNOIS, FROM INSIDE
(PP. 129, 141).

PART OF NAVE ARCADE AND WINDOW OF AISLE,
CHRISTCHURCH, DUBLIN (NORTH SIDE)
(PP. 140-142, 149).

TRIFORIUM OF SOUTH TRANSEPT, CHRIST-
CHURCH, DUBLIN (PP. 139 ETC., 142).

districts or in different buildings, much as Anglo-Saxon architecture was still in use after the Norman Conquest. The considerations mentioned above must still be borne in mind, if we are attempting to fix the precise dates of such buildings, where distinct records fail us. And such records appear not to be numerous, if we examine our evidence closely; there is no doubt that a building largely Norman in character was consecrated in or about 1134; I have not met with any other certain date for an existing building in the first half of the XII century.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INCREASE OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE

IN the later part of the XII century a great change was taking place in Ireland, affecting the whole character of an Irish ecclesiastical settlement. In Ireland the settlement usually starts from the house or oratory of the founder (or from both), rebuilt no doubt from time to time, but not enlarged to any very great extent. To this other churches or chapels were gradually added, so that on the more sacred and important sites a group of them was formed, sometimes (as at Clonmacnois) as many as eleven or twelve in number.¹ These are all one or two-chambered buildings, of no great size, and are only united in so far as they seem to share in or depend upon a Round Tower. In England and abroad, as we know, the general plan was to build a single large church whose form was founded on the basilica.² The domestic buildings were in each case subordinate to the churches, but in England and on the Continent they had a more permanent and regular form. In the XII century the change from the Irish to the English and Continental plan began, was accelerated by the English invasion, and in the XIII century it was (in most places) practically completed. Here the facts which meet us in Irish architecture are explained by Irish history. "Throughout the whole of this XIII century (says Dr. G. T. Stokes) the supremacy of the English Crown was acknowledged all over Ireland, even to the remotest corners of the west." And this supremacy was stronger and more effectively exercised in ecclesiastical than in secular matters.³ This will help to account for the general facts, as we find them (even though the changes might have taken place,

¹ Eleven, counting the Bishop's Chapel; twelve, counting also the Nuns' Church, a short distance off. See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, September, 1907, and Ware, *Bishops*, at p. 164. It is possible that there was a thirteenth. See Macalister, *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, pp. 118, 151.

² The subdivision of this by screens, first in the monastic churches, and afterwards in Cathedrals and to some extent in parish churches (which was almost always of a more marked and permanent character than appears in the same building in ruins or 'restored') makes the parts of the building answer more or less to the detached churches of Ireland.

³ G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, p. 313, etc.

EAST WINDOWS (NOW BUILT UP), ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL
(PP. 141, 142).

WEST DOORWAY, STRATA FLORIDA
(PP. 140, 141).

NORTH DOORWAY, KILKENNY
CATHEDRAL (P. 141).

PART OF TOMB IN KILKENNY CATHEDRAL (P. 142).

BAY OF NAVE, KILKENNY CATHEDRAL
(PP. 143, 160, 161, AND SEE PL. LXXXI).

To face p. 138

more slowly and less completely, in any case) and we shall see that certain points characteristic of Irish architecture can also be explained in detail—to some extent—from the history of the Conquest.

Even in the Romanesque period Irish builders had for the most part been content to beautify old churches—to substitute a more ornamented doorway, as at St. Caimin's, Iniscealtra; to erect or rebuild a chancel, as in the Cathedral at Glendalough; or to add one more building of small size, like Cormac's Chapel, to the group already existing on the site. Towards the end of the XII and in the XIII century the change which we have already seen beginning at Mellifont and Jerpoint spread more widely, and a single large church on a grander scale was built either on a fresh site altogether or on or near a site hallowed by old associations, in the latter case usually swallowing up some or all of the older group already existing, as at Kilkenny, Kildare, and Cashel; the same change took place (partially) at Iona. To the Cistercians were soon added other Orders, particularly the Friars—Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite—who acquired a great and lasting reputation in Ireland. These too would bring with them foreign ideas as to the scale proper for a church, and the preference for one large church to a group of small ones; the domestic buildings also tended to assume a more solid and dignified character, though in some cases, particularly in the remoter parts, these (or some of them) seem to have still been of wood for a time, or even to the end. The Englishmen often appointed to Irish Sees had similar views, and the Irish princes and bishops were not inclined to be behindhand either in reverence for the new orders or in supporting what they would consider an advance in the dignity and beauty of churches.

And the change was not only in the scale and plan of the buildings. We have already seen cause for believing that architecture in Ireland, as elsewhere, had not been independent of the developments of that art abroad, though the Irish had not copied these slavishly, but had assimilated them, adapting and working them out for themselves in accordance with their own genius and their earlier artistic attainments. However, towards the end of the twelfth century the influence of English architecture becomes much stronger; English workmen were (it is impossible to doubt) in certain cases introduced into Ireland by the invaders—even the parts of England from which they came can be determined; and English churches were built on Irish soil, the example of whose style had a wide-spreading influence, and opened the way for the introduction of pure Gothic architecture.

Not long after 1171, under the influence of St. Laurence O'Toole,

the complete rebuilding of Christchurch, Dublin, was begun by Richard de Clare, commonly known as 'Strongbow,' and by Robert FitzStephen and Raymond le Gros, Geraldines from St. David's. This was an English church¹ in the style of the Transition. The stone used is probably Somersetshire oolite, the shafts are certainly of Purbeck marble, all probably imported ready cut. The carving is of 'Somersetshire' type; it bears considerable resemblance to the earliest work at Wells; but it is likely that it was not direct from that district that those workmen came who were the pioneers of Transitional architecture in Ireland, but from the south-west of Wales, and in particular from that part of Pembrokeshire called "Little England beyond Wales," which adopted its architectural ideas in the main from Somersetshire. Since this influence upon Ireland continued in the XIII century, it will be best at once to set down its principal marks, whether they appear in Transitional or in fully-developed Early Gothic architecture. Not only are some of these resemblances plain by themselves, and the combination of them more striking still, but it is also natural that workmen should have been drawn from that neighbouring part of England whence the first invaders mostly came.² We need not look to Christchurch Cathedral for all the signs of this connection, or suppose that the influence came only through this channel—it would set an example, and open a door for further importation of ideas, architects, and workmen from the same quarter; and these were probably supplemented from Somersetshire through Bristol.³

We have already noticed the resemblance of the short pillars raised above a wall separating nave and aisle in the western part of Jerpoint Abbey Church to the like arrangement at Strata Florida, in Cardiganshire (founded in 1164 or in 1180).⁴ At Christchurch Cathedral the shafts in the windows are banded at unusually short intervals, of 16½ inches, in the nave aisle (they are similar in the ruins of the chapter-house), a final band doing duty for the capital of the shaft; these were built about 1230; the west end of the nave (the arcade of which is different in character from the rest) was certainly being built in 1235.

¹ See Appendix V, Notes on Christchurch Cathedral.

² It is not impossible that South Wales may have exercised some small influence on Irish architecture before the invasion. See G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, pp. 50, 51, note.

³ "About the year 1202, William de Burgh granted the village of Ardimur (Co. Antrim) with the church and all its appurtenances to Richard, one of the monks of Glastonbury, to found a priory, to the honour of God and the Virgin Mary." Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

⁴ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. p. 632, etc.

The shafts may have been "sent to Dublin in short lengths from Purbeck to lessen risk of breakage in sea-transit."¹ But the shafts in the triplet of windows at the east end of St. David's Choir² are banded at short intervals, and these are of stone from a quarry close by. To whatever cause the frequency of banding was first due, it seems to have been copied as an ornament. It occurs in the west window of Boyle Abbey, less noticeably in the Cathedral at Newtown Trim, and the shafts of the east windows in Cashel Cathedral had bands at shorter intervals than any other pillars in the building. Such bands are in Kilkenny Cathedral put round the inner semicircular arch of the north door, and there is something similar on an arch in Corcomroe Abbey. This is much more unusual, but the west doorway at Strata Florida has similar bands, like radii of the semicircle; their outer ends terminate in triple 'whirligig' spirals of quite Irish appearance.

In the eastern triplet at St. David's, both inside and outside, the moulding is carried round the bottom of each window, as in a picture frame. The same is the case in windows at Christchurch, Dublin, and this feature is common in Ireland at the east end of churches, as at Inismain, Melaghlin's Church, Clonmacnois, and at Abbey Knockmoy and Ballintober Abbey, not to mention other instances. Since, however, there is a sort of frame to the doorways of some Round Towers, as well as to windows in the nave at Banagher and at Cahan Abbey, this feature would be the more easily and naturally adopted in Ireland.³ It is probably an extension of this idea that in Cashel Cathedral the small upper windows of the choir, which externally are quatrefoils, on the inside open under segmental arches which are reproduced below them, though their sides are formed by small pillars.

The use of alternate layers or courses of dark and light stone is characteristic of St. David's (though it occurs also elsewhere in England) the splendid purple stone available close at hand doubtless suggesting this. A similar effect is produced in Dunbrody Abbey, in Kilkenny Cathedral, and in the chancel arch at Ardmore, though this last-named example may probably be of rather late date.

¹ Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 252; see also *The Builder* of 5th May 1894, article by Sir Thomas Drew.

² The crossing and choir at St. David's, built soon after 1180, were more or less ruined by the fall of the tower in 1220, but this does not seem to have injured the lower part of the east wall. And the restoration of the part ruined adhered very closely to the original Transitional style, the old material being probably used to a large extent. See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 652, and Robson, *The Cathedral Church of St. David's*, pp. 12, 39.

³ See Appendix W, Mouldings framing Windows.

Any one who has seen St. David's Cathedral will have noticed how very extensively a particular form of capital is used there—a kind of scallop, curving outwards like stalks; it is also to be found in the ruins of Strata Florida. The capitals under the arch leading into St. Laurence O'Toole's Chapel, in the south transept of Christchurch, are precisely like this, and very similar capitals occur in the nave of Boyle Abbey, and as corbels in the tower of Fore Abbey, founded (on a new site) by Walter de Lacy in 1209.¹ The 'necking' at the bottom of the capital is omitted on some of the shafts in the nave of Boyle Abbey, as it is at St. David's and Glastonbury.² The same form of key-pattern is prominently used both at St. David's and at Christchurch (as well as at Glendalough), and the forms of chevron mouldings used at Christchurch find parallels at St. David's—though no doubt also elsewhere in England.

The foliage at Christchurch is (as has been said above) of a decidedly 'Somersetshire' type. This is noticeable to some extent in the earlier carving on the south transept doorway, in the transepts and in the western part of the choir, which resembles that of the north porch at Wells; it is still more marked in the later work of the nave arcade in the Dublin Cathedral, where the capitals resemble the second stage of carving at Wells, as regards both the foliage itself and the framing of heads in it. And Pembrokeshire supplies a link between the two, for the capitals in St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, are like those at Wells on the one hand and those at Christchurch on the other. Nor does the Somersetshire, or Pembrokeshire, influence end in Dublin. At Monaincha, in two windows on the south side of the nave and in the east window of the chancel (later alterations in the Romanesque church) there is on capitals a simple version of such carving. In Kilkenny Cathedral the capitals are mostly plain; but there is a tomb in the north transept where they have carving of very similar character, which may also be traced in the capitals of the south porch there, in the south aisle of St. John's Priory, Kilkenny, in the Collegiate Church of Gowran, a few miles away, and to some extent in Cashel

¹ Archdall, *Monasticon*. In two capitals in the north aisle of the choir at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, there is an adaptation of the form of capital mentioned above, worked into foliage of a rather early type. These are, I believe, unrestored; the north choir-aisle retains a great deal of ancient work; but it is not so easy to prove this there as at Christchurch, where the old stones are left unscraped. In the south aisle of the church at Bishop's Cannings, near Devizes, there are good examples of similar scallops, both plain and cut into foliage.

² See Bond, *Gothic Architecture*, p. 434.

CAPITALS IN CHANCEL, ST. MARY'S, HAVERFORDWEST
(P. 143).

CAPITALS AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF NAVE, CASHEL CATHEDRAL (PP. 142, 143, 162, 186, 187).

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Cathedral. At the place last named there is in particular a link which can hardly be a mere coincidence. In 1274 died William Bytton, Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was locally canonised after his death, and was invoked specially in cases of toothache. The capitals in the south transept of Wells Cathedral shew many representations of persons thus suffering—for instance, with a hand in the mouth—carved in his honour.¹ On the north side of the chancel at St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, is a capital of a similar kind, also in the south-west doorway of Cashel Cathedral, though both these may be a mere copying of the design at Wells, without a thought of St. William Bytton.

There is also an architectural link between the Bishop's palace at Wells (this part of it was built by 1239²), Pembrokeshire, and Ireland. On the first floor of the palace the windows have, inside, a trefoiled arch, resting upon shafts of dark marble, the openings to the outside being a pair of lights with trefoiled heads and a quatrefoil over these; one at least of the windows is on the outside absolutely plain, without even a dripstone to give unity to each group of openings. At St. Mary's, Haverfordwest, the outside of this window is in general reproduced; the east window of the south aisle at Gowran bears a considerable resemblance to these; while in the windows of the nave aisles at Kilkenny Cathedral the inside is like the example at Wells simplified—the shafts, for instance, being omitted.

In some of these resemblances the one instance may not be copied directly from the other, and it is possible that in some cases an experiment may first have been tried in Ireland; but the main stream was of course in the other direction, and the general connection, as described above, is plain.

There is a feature common in Irish building which is unusual in England, but, as it seems to start at Christchurch, it may be mentioned here. In England arches of any breadth are usually built in recessed 'orders,' which were either left square-edged or (later on) were chamfered or moulded. At Christchurch, in the arches opening from the transepts into the aisles of nave and choir, the 'soffit' (or under surface) of the arch is all in one plane, except for mouldings just at its corners and a rib in the middle (resting upon a shaft or shafts); this may, of course, be regarded as a greatly reduced 'order,' but has more the

¹ See Dearmer, *The Cathedral Church of Wells*, pp. 124, 125, 153.

² Parker, *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, p. 130; Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 655.

character of a vaulting-rib. In St. Patrick's Cathedral on the east side of the transepts the arches are built in the same way, as they are also in the arcade of the nave at Dunbrody Abbey and at the crossing in Kildare Cathedral; a simple arch which appears to rest on a chamfered rib (supported by a corbel) is common in late Irish Gothic.

EAST WINDOWS, KILFENORA CATHEDRAL (P. 146).

WINDOW AT ANNAGHDOWN (PP. 145, 146).

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CHAPTER IX

TRANSITIONAL ARCHITECTURE IN IRELAND

IN the last chapter we noticed briefly the signs of increased influence upon Irish architecture from England, notably from Somersetshire and Pembrokeshire, in the end of the XII and in the XIII century. Having thus cleared the ground and given some explanation of the way in which those great changes came about which were taking place in the principles and style of Irish building, we may now look at some specimens of Irish Transitional architecture. What has already been said of Irish Romanesque will, to a certain extent, apply also to the work of this later period—that the influence from outside was subject to modification by the mind and taste of native workmen, so that many of the Irish Transitional Churches are, so to speak, hall-marked as Irish; there is, in fact, a Transitional style which is largely and distinctively Irish; but this is found in some buildings only of the time; others are more or less completely English, with perhaps a few local peculiarities, and such buildings are not necessarily later than the more vernacular examples. When this foreign influence was coming into the country, the extent to which it would work must obviously depend on the nationality, connections, or taste of the founder, upon the question whether a foreign master-builder and foreign workmen were available or were desired.¹

We may begin by noticing the admirable window at Annaghdown, which, but for its pointed moulding, and perhaps its 'frame' (see p. 141), would be classed as a masterpiece of Irish Romanesque.² Here (within

¹ The history of Canterbury Cathedral and of Westminster Abbey will illustrate this, though the circumstances are not precisely similar.

² This was the east window in the Abbey Church. It has been rebuilt—obviously as it stood—in the Protestant Church near by, which is now itself disused. There are on and near their old position bits of ornamental work belonging to the Abbey, which shew many features associated with Irish Romanesque architecture, notably two square pillars (or pilasters), which plainly stood at the sides of a door; these have heads on the capital and mouldings or shafts at their corners, and are ornamented with chevron cut on the face, much like the decoration of the west front at Ardfer (p. 130). Both from its surroundings and from its own characteristics, the window described above must be referred to a very early stage of the Transition.

the building) the points of the triangles formed by raised chevron join from the outside and the inside on to a pointed rib which runs along the outer edge of the splay—on the inside each radiating or horizontal course of stone in the opening of the window terminates in one of these triangles (as it does in the east window of St. Saviour's, Glendalough), the construction being thus explained or accentuated by the ornamentation; these triangles are edged with delicate mouldings and rows of beads, and are filled up with most varied and excellent leaf-patterns, or (at the bottom) with monsters' heads and necks interlacing, as in an Irish MS. There is also round the head of the outer arch double chevron (with similar subordinate decoration), the points meeting from each side at an angle and forming a sort of sunk lozenge pattern in the intervals left—or a low nail-head, made by the points of the chevrons meeting. The shafts (or mouldings), with block capitals, below this outer arch, were turned round at the bottom so as to frame the window.

Very different in character, more distinctly Transitional, and even more markedly Irish, is the triplet of round-headed windows under a single round arch, the mouldings of which are brought round below, at the east end of Kilfenora Cathedral. Here the capital of the small triangular pier (with a shaft, flanked by mouldings, inserted in its corner) which stands between the middle and the northern window is scalloped at the top, but has below very simple 'croquets,' such as no doubt originated from the classical 'volute'—these have a somewhat French look, but are found, for instance, on a respond in the church at New Shoreham; cut into foliage, they are common enough in English Transitional work. The corresponding capital to the south is (as is so common in Ireland) quite differently treated. There are no scallops; a few croquets are introduced, but the abacus is supported by quaint half-length human figures. Above each abacus and above the corresponding string-courses on the north and south jambs is a row of ornaments which have a very classical appearance. It should be noted that the bases of the shafts between the windows are pointed. The lower end of the hood-mould on each side curves away, upwards and downwards, as a branch ending in a bunch of grapes—at which a bird is pecking; this looks like a kind of foretaste of the way in which such hood-moulds terminate in late Irish Gothic, as the pointed base is of the pointed corbel; it also recalls the birds feeding among vines carved on some early Irish—and English—crosses, as well as upon the late cross and doorway at Devenish (see pp. 73, 86, 98, 99). Other east windows which appear to be marked as of Transitional character by a 'frame' of mouldings round the opening have been already mentioned (p. 129),

INTERIOR OF BOYLE ABBEY FROM THE WEST (PP. 135, 147 ETC., 150, 151, 234).

SOUTH SIDE OF NAVF, ABBEY KNOCKMOY (PP. 147, 149, 234).

and to these may be added the pairs of windows at Clonfert and in St. Colman's Church, Kilmacduagh.

Striking and very vernacular examples of Transitional work in Ireland are to be found in certain Cistercian Abbeys—Boyle, Corcomroe, and Abbey Knockmoy—which, except a part of the one first mentioned (see p. 135), were built about and shortly after 1200 A.D.,¹ and have been very little altered in later times. In these churches the curious custom of the Cistercians is to be observed, which we have noticed at Jerpoint—to build a church for the most part on the usual plan of the time (though with certain characteristics more or less peculiar to their Order) and then to block up parts of it, more or less completely, with masonry for practical purposes; it is still plain, for instance, from the plaster, that the sides of the crossing at Abbey Knockmoy have been thus cut off, while both at Abbey Knockmoy and at Corcomroe (as well as at Manister) there is a solid wall a short distance west of the crossing, reaching to the roof and pierced only by a low doorway. It is true that there was a tendency—most unmistakably shewn at Manister—to heighten, or complete this division in the later Middle Ages; but this was merely an exaggeration of a feature already there, for in all Cistercian churches there was always a marked and effective division, and thus the central part of the church, nave and chancel, besides being shut off from the rest, is divided into two churches, which do not correspond with the general constructional plan as it appears outside. Of course mediaeval churches were much divided up by screens, more especially those of monasteries, and somewhat later of Cathedrals, where (as at St. Alban's Abbey, Norwich Cathedral, St. David's, and Old St. Paul's) the main divisions (or some of them) were of a very solid kind; the plan of these buildings started from the basilica, and they were gradually adapted to services of a different kind by makeshift arrangements as well as by changes in the general plan.² But the practical Cistercians make these adaptations more boldly, providing a monks' church first, a church for the lay-brothers or *conversi* in the second place, and in the rest of the building chapels where the many priests of the monastery could say Mass,³ and that without too

¹ See Appendix U, The Dates of certain Cistercian Churches.

² The basilica is of course adapted for a large congregation, all assisting at a single service; the later mediaeval Cathedral or Abbey Church had to provide for choir-offices, and processions, and for the veneration of saints in shrines above ground, as well as supplying a number of altars in honour of various saints where the many priests attached to it could say Mass.

³ For the general arrangement of Cistercian churches, see Micklethwaite, *Of the Cistercian Plan*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1882, vol. vii, p. 242. Cistercian

much regard to the plan of the church, as it appears from the outside.

The three Cistercian churches mentioned are in general very similar. They are cruciform, with bold round arches at the crossing, north and south, and a pointed chancel arch (which makes an effective contrast); and they have the square-ended Cistercian transept chapels. All have their chancels vaulted, with rooms over them, but there are no buttresses, though the transept chapels act as abutments to the short chancels; the walls have mostly stood well. At Boyle there is a pointed barrel vault to the eastern arm, at Abbey Knockmoy and at Corcomroe the roof is groined, with ribs rising from shafts which taper more or less to a point below, as also do the triple shafts for supporting the wooden roof of the nave at Boyle; the bottom of these is generally ornamented.¹ Corcomroe and Abbey Knockmoy are in general alike in the arrangement of the east end, which is much as it must have been at Jerpoint—from the outside one sees three windows below, a single window above under the vault, and over this a fifth window giving light to the room above the vaulting; the three windows below are united by a string-course which bends over their heads to form hood-moulds—at Abbey Knockmoy these lower windows are round-headed and completely framed in their mouldings, while the windows above are lancets; all five are pointed at Corcomroe. In all three churches both the round and the pointed arch are used; in the nave at Boyle the round arches of the somewhat older work on the south side are continued westwards, but for cylindrical pillars piers oblong in plan are substituted, having on their east and west sides a triplet of shafts attached, uniting in a single capital which carries the inner order of the arch; on the north side of the nave the arcade is pointed. Very noticeable and strikingly Transitional is the doorway leading from the cloisters into the south aisle; it is round-headed, obviously cut out of square recessed orders, and the mouldings, the two principal of which are pear-shaped, are carried round the head without capitals, though they have well-developed bases.

As to the ornamentation, sculpture or carving was, as we have seen (p. 133, note), expressly forbidden to the Cistercians. But this rule seems to have been liberally interpreted (to say the least) almost from the first in England and Ireland, as at Kirkstall and Jerpoint, and still

buildings were to a considerable extent copied in others, not least in Ireland; at Athassel, a Priory of Austin Canons, the bases of the arch which opened into the south transept are 12 ft. up, *i.e.*, on the top of a wall separating off the transept; see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1909, p. 284.

¹ See Appendix X, Pointed Brackets in Early Work.

more in some of their English and Welsh abbeys which were built about, or shortly before, 1200 A.D.;¹ in the Irish Cistercian churches of about the same period the builders seem to have remembered the rule of simplicity at some times and forgotten it at others. Thus the west front of Corcomroe and the east end of Boyle Abbey are very plain indeed, and so are the square cornices, string-courses, and hood-moulds of these two churches. But the west front at Boyle has *antae* or buttresses (retreating with very small set-offs) which are moulded at the corners, the west window has chevron ornament upon the pointed arch above on the outside, and the shafts at its sides (within and without) are ornamentally banded at frequent intervals; final bands supply the place of capitals outside, precisely as at Christchurch, Dublin;² there is chevron and somewhat similar banding in the three-light window of the Chapter House at Abbey Knockmoy. And the east front of Corcomroe Abbey Church shews what is probably the latest and is certainly the most elaborate instance of the use of shafts on the corners of a building, such as we have already noticed as common in Irish Romanesque churches. Each shaft springs from a triple plinth as its base and at some distance up dies into the wall in a point; a little further up it starts again, as a pointed moulding, rising out of a bit of ornament which rests on a string-course, and it carries another string-course near the top of the wall. At Boyle Abbey—upon the south transept, for instance—there is a sort of elaborated billet ornament set at intervals and used for corbels, as it is also on St. Joseph's Chapel, Glastonbury, and Fountains Abbey.

Inside these three Irish churches there is a similar juxtaposition of very plain work and rather elaborate decoration. The interior of the nave at Abbey Knockmoy is exceedingly plain, the arches resting upon great oblong piers or pieces of interrupted wall, though on one of the arches there is a good piece of gate-pattern ornament just below a moulded impost. The nave at Corcomroe is at least equally plain; and since, as has been said above, the openings in the arcade were, in Cistercian churches, stopped up with a wall of considerable height, such simplicity seems really more practical and sensible than to build a more or less ornamental arcade and then to destroy the effect of it. At Boyle, however, the nave is more highly ornamented than the chancel and transepts. At Corcomroe the round arches at the north and south sides of the crossing, which are very plain and roughly built, spring at

¹ *E.g.* Dore Abbey and Cwm Hir. See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England* (1905), pp. 418, 421, etc., 642, 643, 648.

² See Appendix U, The Dates of certain Cistercian Churches.

their eastern sides from mere string-courses or imposts resting directly on shafts—somewhat like what we have noticed in earlier Irish buildings (see p. 106 etc.). But close to these are capitals, supporting the chancel arch, with naturalistic carving of some kind of campanula, boldly undercut.¹ This is repeated on one side of the arch leading into the north transept chapel, while on the other side the capitals are ornamented with conventional fleurs-de-lis, which also appear on the sedilia, and are not unlike some round the arch leading from the transept into the north choir aisle at New Shoreham; the outer order of the arch, which these capitals support, is edged with a curious ornament hanging over; on the inner order are mouldings, which a short distance above the capitals have a small band round them; below this point some of them split up into a number of smaller mouldings spreading out like a fan to meet the capital; the ornamental moulding on the outer order ends in a somewhat similar way. The entrance to the south transept chapel is much plainer and in general appearance earlier; the arch is in square-cut plain orders, and two of the capitals are adorned with heads, the hair being decoratively treated, which, as we have seen (p. 114), is not uncommon in Irish Romanesque, but others are carved with leaves in low relief of a somewhat classical type (such as is supposed to be derived from the acanthus), which now comes in probably for the first time in Ireland; it is much like some of the carving which appears in Norman and (in a better form) in Transitional work in England; there is ornamentation almost exactly similar on a capital of the sedilia. At Abbey Knockmoy foliage of a similar type terminates the tapering lower ends of the classical-looking pilasters which carry the vaulting-shafts of the chancel, and on the outside is carved upon the hood-mould of the central window in the eastern triplet, which starts from well-carved human heads—there is somewhat similar carving over the window to the south—while the hood-mould to the north is ornamented with flat pellets (cut into spirals), reminding one of some of the bosses on Irish crosses.

But the church which supplies most instances of this kind of foliage, stiff but effective—and the greatest offender against the simplicity of the Cistercian Order—is certainly that of Boyle Abbey. There are indeed even here some plain cushion capitals carrying arches of the crossing, and scallop capitals elaborated in different ways, including two varieties of that graceful sort of scallop which is common at St. David's (see p. 142); on each side of the chancel arch there is another form having a conventional leaf in the pointed oval spaces which the scallops leave

¹ One capital of those which support the chancel arch on each side, also bell-shaped, is carved with a sort of scallop pattern in very low relief.

SOUTH-EAST RESPOND OF NAVE, BOYLE ABBEY
(PP. 147, 150, 151, 234).

VIEW ACROSS NAVE FROM SOUTH AISLE, BOYLE ABBEY (PP. 147, 148, 150, 151, 234).

To face p. 150

at the top—this excellent capital is also used in the same position at Abbey Knockmoy.¹ But a large number of the capitals are carved with the stiff acanthus-like foliage above-mentioned, classical in appearance. There are also on the north side of the nave some capitals with foliage in 'volutes' beneath the square abacus, like the early work at Wells. However, the most elaborate, and the most curious, capitals are those of the triple shafts attached to the rectangular piers in the south-western part of the nave (each triplet having but one capital), with their grotesque men and animals and birds. The relationship of these churches with each other is tolerably plain, particularly of Boyle with Abbey Knockmoy. So also, especially at Boyle, is their debt (direct or indirect) to English architecture. Yet they are very Irish; for instance, in the dislike of their builders to be fettered by rules and precedents and symmetry. It is interesting to see further examples of an approach towards the pointed bracket which was to be used so freely in late Irish Gothic, and it is worthy of notice that many of the peculiarities of early Irish building are still to be found about 1200 A.D. or later still. Besides the small square-headed windows at Boyle and at Corcomroe, in the latter church the door leading from the dormitory into the transept (according to the usual Cistercian plan) has sides very markedly inclined, and in the buildings close by is a window, the head of which is formed of two straight slabs meeting at the top, which would of course be an easy and tempting form of construction at any time. Such 'survivals' may act as a caution against assigning early dates too confidently in other cases on the ground of similar primitive characteristics.

What has been said above may be illustrated from another Cistercian Abbey, Monasternenagh or Manister, near Croom in Co. Limerick. Its first monks were a colony from Mellifont, and it was founded by O'Brien, King of Munster, in 1148 or 1151,² but this does not give the date of the church as it stands—we have seen some signs already, and shall meet with still clearer proof (as well as with explanations of the fact) that the date of the founding of a monastery or church does not necessarily give, even approximately, the date of the present buildings.³ The church of Manister by all analogy is in the main Transitional, and no doubt not far removed in time from the three churches already described. The building-off of the aisles and the transepts, according to the Cistercian plan already mentioned, is now very marked indeed; however, it is plain that the upper part, at all events, of the wall reaching to the

¹ A five-lobed leaf is *painted* in a similar position on a scalloped capital in the apse of Norwich Cathedral.

² Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 275.

³ See Appendix U, Appendix AA, and pp. 135, 169.

roof (which throws a very large part of the nave into the ritual choir, or monks' church) is in this case certainly later—it cuts two of the earlier clerestory windows—and the same appears to be the case with the walls shutting off the transepts. There was a room over the chancel, above a pointed barrel-vault which fell not very long ago, destroying the east end. The pair of windows at the west end have the mouldings brought round at the bottom on the outside, but not on the inside. The nave is exceedingly plain, but there is interesting work in the eastern part of the church. The transept chapels are almost wholly gone, but one on the north side (which was roofed with a pointed barrel vault) had an arch at its entrance ornamented with a sort of chain or rather spoon-pattern, the part within each link being a little sunk, like the bowl of a spoon. On one side of the arch leading to the north transept a moulded impost stands for a capital, as at Corcomroe. The abacus under the chancel arch and in (at least) one other instance takes an unusual shape—swelling out into something like the outline of a Doric capital. Beneath this there is an adaptation of the scalloped capital which is worth noticing, and in the south aisle there is a somewhat similar instance, the interval between the scallops below being here filled up with small stiff 'croquets'; these capitals are a good deal like one of those in the east window at Kilfenora. In another capital the scallops rest upon well-carved foliage which bears a considerable resemblance to some Early English work;¹ it is in all probability distantly connected with the classical 'acanthus,' but in places the leaves are grouped so as to form a triple 'whirligig.' We have seen before how the Irish adopted foreign types of decoration, but varied them in their own way—often most successfully. This is specially illustrated by their use of the scallop; it constantly appears in Ireland both in Romanesque and in Transitional work, but, as a rule, not in its simple forms, and the adaptations of it are usually ingenious, and in the Transitional buildings they are often excellent.²

Ballintober Abbey, founded for Austin Canons by a King of Connaught in 1216, is nearly related to Corcomroe and Abbey Knockmoy, both founded some years earlier—the influence of Cistercian architecture was not confined to the monasteries of that Order, and its architects (who were usually, at all events, lay-brothers or *conversi*³) appear in some

¹ See e.g., Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, plates on pp. 430, 431.

² See also Appendix Z, *Teampull Mac Dermot* and the Registry of Clonmacnoise.

³ For the position of these lay-brothers, see *Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii*, c. XV, in Tissier, *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium*, vol. i, pp. 7 and 8. The simplicity aimed at by the Order is described in c. XVII (vol. i, p. 8).

ARCH INTO NORTH TRANSEPT CHAPEL AND NORTH SIDE OF CHANCEL,
CORCOMROE ABBEY (PP. 148; 149, 150, 234).

CAPITALS OF ARCH INTO SOUTH TRANSEPT CHAPEL, CORCOMROE ABBEY (PP. 148, 150, 234).

To face p. 152

cases to have been directly responsible for buildings unconnected with it. This abbey had a room above its vaulted chancel, and the plan of its east windows is the same as in the two Cistercian churches just mentioned and already described. It has two pairs of transept chapels; the one chapel on each side stands within a round, the other within a pointed arch. The nave (which had no aisles) is exceedingly plain, but this cannot be said of the eastern part of the church. In the vaulting of the choir a rib springs right across from each shaft to the shaft opposite, and another diagonally to those on each side of this; the shafts are headed with masses of foliage; these (and still more those at the crossing) are strangely shaped. In the east wall there is a single window under the vault, having three windows below it, whose arches on the inside are ornamented with chevron. Outside, the heads of all three are markedly different; that in the middle having half-detached ribs running round it in double chevron or lozenge-pattern, resembling windows in St. Joseph's Chapel, Glastonbury, and at St. David's Cathedral; that on the north is encircled with chevron ornament of another form, while the window to the south has nail-head in a hollow between mouldings. The capitals of the shafts (which have rectangular abaci) are carved with early foliage, which extends back beyond them; some of it is arranged in spirals, recalling earlier Irish designs. The inner mouldings and the shafts are brought round at the bottom so as to form a double frame to each window, and the triplet is united by a string-course above; inside, it is thus joined both above and below. There is a doorway near the church to the south whose pointed arch is in plain square orders, while the capitals below have carving of distinctly Irish character; it bears a general resemblance to the chancel arch at Inismain in Lough Mask, about fifteen miles distant.

Ballintober Abbey is on the whole less vernacular than the churches previously described; and this is more distinctly the case with Ardmore Cathedral. There are grounds for believing that this was 'finished' about 1200 A.D.;¹ the church, as we have seen, has a west front probably of the XII century, and appears to contain masonry belonging to a still earlier building in the chancel, which has also undergone alterations at some date later than the 'finishing' above mentioned,

¹ Archdall gives the following entry: "1203. Died Moel-ettrim O'Duibherathra, who, after he had erected and finished the church of this place, became the reverend bishop of Ardmore (Ann. Munst. cont.)." This entry no doubt refers to the Annals of Inisfallen, but the editor of Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* 'could not find this entry in any Dublin copy of the Annals of Inisfallen' (note, ii, p. 43). However, it is unlikely that Archdall invented or imagined it

but most of the detail of the church must belong to about the period suggested. From the extra capitals (one of which is scalloped) and the spring of arches on each side of the chancel arch it is plain that aisles have been intended, but not built. The small west window is recessed on the inside under a group of late Norman or Transitional mouldings, and its arch rested on detached shafts, now removed; there is a fine doorway of similar character in the north wall of the nave near the west end. Part of this wall is roughly panelled, on the inside; towards the west the panels are square-headed; further east they are in the form of a pointed arch. Over the windows of the nave, both outside and inside, there is a hood-mould, forming part of a string-course. The form of the abaci and the foliage (in 'croquets') below the chancel arch have rather a French look, though much similar work is to be found in English Transitional building. The present arch is of light and dark stone alternately; however, its mouldings point to a later date, and the chancel too shews evident signs of modification at some subsequent period.

Of Kilkenny Cathedral something has already been said. The present building was begun by the first English Bishop of Ossory, Hugh de Rous, or Hugo Rufus (1202-1218)¹ and much of its eastern part is of Transitional character. This comes out very plainly in the 'pilaster buttresses' at the corners of the choir and transepts—broad strips of projecting masonry such as are commonly found in Norman work, though they occur in the fortified church tower of Clymping, Sussex, which shews marks of Transition—and in the round-headed windows of the choir. A good deal of Graiguenamanagh Abbey, which is only about fifteen miles away, bears a considerable resemblance to this Transitional work at Kilkenny; it may well have been built by the same workmen, or under the same master-builder. There is a very singular aumbry (or piscina) in a chapel off the north transept of the Cathedral, the shape of which appears to be suggested by the old step-pattern of the MSS. or its reproduction in stone on the doorway at Freshford, and to be prophetic of the Irish battlement. These transept chapels recall the plan of a Cistercian church.

The Abbey Church at Newtown Trim appears, in what remains of it, to shew little or no distinct sign of vernacular influence. Founded in 1206² by Simon de Rochfort for Canons Regular of St. Victor, to be the Cathedral of Meath (the See being transferred from Clonard), it has been a fine building of Transitional architecture. On the outside

¹ See Appendix Y, The Date of the earliest part of Kilkenny Cathedral.

² Ware, *Bishops*, p. 141.

SOUTH TRANSEPT CHAPELS, BALLINTOBER
ABBEY (PP. 152, 153).

DOORWAY IN DOMESTIC BUILDINGS,
BALLINTOBER ABBEY (PP. 119,
152, 153).

CAPITALS OF CHANCEL ARCH, INISMAIN
(PP. 33, 119, 153).

PILASTER CARRYING VAULTING-RIB IN CHANCEL,
ABBEY KNOCKMOY (PP. 147, 148, 150, 234).

EAST WINDOWS, BALLINTOBER ABBEY (PP. 152, 153).

To face p. 154

of it are 'pilaster buttresses'; the windows in the chancel are, or have been originally, tall lancets, the shafts being banded and having round abaci on their capitals; the sedilia are round-headed, ornamented with very shallow mouldings. The building thus combines Norman features with developed XIII century architecture—of English type, as (among other features) the round caps shew. It had (or was intended to have) a groined roof. Kildare Cathedral shews distinct traces of the earlier style in the round-headed windows of the upper part of its tower, and in the billets under the string-courses above and below these, though the church is in the main an Early Gothic building.¹ So too is (as it stands) the Collegiate Church of Gowran, but it has pilaster buttresses at its west end.

Lastly, we may notice one more piece of Cistercian work, though it seems to have no points specially characteristic of that Order—or of Ireland. At Mellifont there remains a fine fragment of Transitional architecture—the so-called 'Baptistery,' really the washing-place or *Lavabo*, in the cloisters. It was octagonal in shape, with round arches, mouldings of an early type, and capitals beautifully carved. Its roof was vaulted, and there was a room above. A similar building remains at Canterbury, also known as the 'Baptistery.'² The Transitional cloisters at Cong appear to be of importance in explaining the form which the later cloisters in Ireland assumed.

It will be noticed that—roughly speaking—parts of Ireland which were more remote from English influence shew the most vernacular architecture, while some buildings in what was afterwards the Pale and erected by bishops—or by laymen—from England have little that is specially Irish about them, Christchurch, Dublin, being almost wholly English in character; and this is of course what would have been expected. The more vernacular buildings are not at all necessarily the earlier, and Transitional architecture (whether to a greater or a less degree Irish in character) continued in use to a considerably later date in Ireland than it did in England. But the half-way house of the Transitional style, however excellent in its results, could not permanently maintain itself against the inroad of pure Gothic, which, having already established itself in England, made its peaceful conquest of Ireland complete (but for a few 'survivals' in details) as the XIII century advanced.

¹ It appears that the present church (or most of it) was built by Ralph of Bristol, who was bishop from 1223 to 1232 A.D. (see Ware, *Bishops*, p. 385); and its character—in Ireland—is quite consistent with that date.

² The 'Baptistery' at Canterbury was built before 1167; see Willis, *History of Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 82.

It might be interesting, but would certainly be unprofitable, to speculate as to what the development of Irish architecture might have been, had that island been altogether separated from foreign influence soon after 1200 A.D.

There appear to be no clear signs of any special connection between Scotland and Ireland visible in the Transitional architecture of the two countries.

CHAPTER X

PURE GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE ESTABLISHED IN IRELAND

THE capture of Ireland by pure Gothic architecture was, roughly speaking, completed in the second quarter of the XIII century. The use of the round abacus shews, what is tolerably plain otherwise, that it was English Gothic which (in the main, at all events) served as an example in Ireland.

Owing to the causes already described, a large number of churches were still being built or rebuilt. And the style of this period gained such a hold on Ireland that traces of this remain until Gothic architecture died out altogether. The Early Gothic of Ireland was in the main identical with 'Early English' architecture, but, as we have seen, it gained its ascendancy there somewhat later; it lasted well into the XIV century and, as we shall see, can hardly be said to have been then definitely superseded. Early Irish Gothic (and the same is at least as much the case in such examples of Middle Gothic architecture as exist there) has less individuality than any Irish style before; something has been said about it already in Chapter VIII; and it will hardly be necessary here to do more than to indicate those points which—in spite of what has just been said—do to some extent give character to the Irish architecture of this period, and to describe certain exceptional Irish buildings of this date. It should of course be borne in mind that originality is in fact hardly a matter of supreme importance, and that, at all events, Early Gothic was a living style in Ireland, used—and in some points adapted—so as to produce many beautiful buildings, according to the means available in each case.

Though the Irish churches built at this period reached a size unknown before in the country, the cathedrals are small compared with those of England, and the abbey¹ churches smaller still. St. Patrick's Cathedral, the largest church in Ireland, is 300 ft. long; St. Canice's, at Kilkenny, measures 226 ft.; the length of Lichfield Cathedral (inside measurement) is 370 ft. And it is not only in length that Irish churches are on a smaller scale. Crypts are very rare indeed. There

¹ In Ireland ancient friaries too are, I think invariably, spoken of as 'abbeyes.'

is very seldom a triforium, and often no clerestory. Aisles are not regarded as necessities; Cashel and Kildare Cathedrals have none; the Abbey of Lorrha, near Portumna, has neither aisles nor transepts;¹ other churches have one aisle, usually on the south side of the nave; chancel aisles are quite exceptional.² But transepts are common; that on the south side of the Black Abbey (Dominican) at Kilkenny is of extraordinary length, longer than the nave (a western aisle was added to it in the XIV century); of course a transept is well adapted for placing correctly the large number of altars required by a monastery or friary (as is the Chapel of the Nine Altars at Durham); the wish to honour many different saints could also be thus carried out.

The general absence in Ireland of chancel aisles (or at all events of any reaching to the east end) made possible a most effective type of chancel, with high lancet windows; these, with their splays, occupy nearly the whole wall on one or both sides of the chancel, which at Ardfert Cathedral and the Franciscan Abbey near it is one-storied; though in Cashel Cathedral small clerestory windows, of a most unusual design inside, while on the outside they open as quatrefoils (see p. 141), are inserted between the crowns of the arches. The same idea is shewn in the similar treatment of the eastern wall, which is occupied almost up to the roof and from north to south wall in Ardfert Cathedral by three windows, in Ardfert Abbey and at Ennis by five, and in the Franciscan Abbey at Kilkenny by seven windows—it is interesting to find that Ardfert Abbey has a chancel which bears a very close resemblance, in a plainer form, to that of Ardfert Cathedral, just as successful church towers were closely (and avowedly) copied by neighbours in Suffolk. In St. John's Priory or Hospital, Kilkenny, two triplets of lancets with trefoil heads, grouped under two arches on the inside, the lights merely separated by mullions, make the east end almost one continuous window from wall to wall; there is an independent quatrefoil window over the junction of the triplets. In the outer wall of the—later completed—south aisle (which was the Lady Chapel of this church) the windows—triplets of lancets, much like those at the east end of the choir—were almost continuous (its east end was filled with a great window of intersecting tracery).³

¹ Inside, this church was divided by a stone screen, or *pulpitum*; one of the two altars that stood on each side of the door still remains under a pointed arch that formed part of the screen. The division is clearly marked by the windows on the outside as well, and the break relieves the appearance of disproportionate length.

² This may in part be due to Cistercian example. See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 103, 104, 175, 176.

³ There is an illustration of this church before its 'restoration' (when alternate

PISCINA IN KILKENNY CATHEDRAL (P. 154).

NORTH-EAST CORNER OF CHOIR, KILKENNY
CATHEDRAL (P. 154).

SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF CATHEDRAL, OR ABBEY,
NEWTOWN TRIM (PP. 141, 154, 155).

WEST END OF GOWRAN CHURCH (PP. 155, 160; AND
SEE PLS. LXXX, 1, 2, LXXXII, 3, 4).

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Such arrangements of lancet windows give a liberal amount of light, or, what was perhaps as much in the mind of the builders, a large field for stained glass; we hear that the Franciscan Friary at Ennis, when it was repaired (or rebuilt) in 1305,¹ received from its benefactor, besides beautiful book-cases, furniture and vestments, "blue painted windows"; the east windows (or "window," as they are often called collectively) at Kilkenny were filled by Bishop de Ledrede half a century later with specially fine glass "on which is most skilfully portrayed the History of the entire Life, the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord"—so one who saw the windows intact describes them.² There are fragments of the glass from the Cathedral in the Kilkenny Museum which, so far as the colour goes, bear out the praise given to the windows, though they seem to belong to at least two dates, the earlier, more opaque glass being probably of the XIV century; there is also a very excellent transparent blue. In many cases it is difficult to see what was practically to be gained by substituting the broad single window of later Gothic, as, for instance, in the Dominican Church at Cashel, when, in the fifteenth century, it was repaired after a fire.³ The lancet windows, when very high, obviously leave little space for a room over the chancel, which was such a common feature in Transitional and Romanesque churches, but there was certainly one of considerable height in Dunbrody Abbey, and there are indications of such a room elsewhere.

The group of seven lancets in the Franciscan Abbey at Kilkenny, in St. John's, Kilkenny, each of the two triplets, at Ennis the three central lancets under one arch—at the east end of these churches—practically form lights of a single window. At Hore Abbey, at Kilkenny and Cashel Cathedrals, in Bective Abbey, and in the Collegiate Church at Gowran, on the outside, the clerestory windows are quatre-

triplets were blocked) at the beginning of the first volume of the Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, also in Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, vol. i, opposite p. 31. The choir was more or less finished in 1220, the Lady Chapel in 1290. "Anno m° cc° xx° die sancti johannis apostoli et ewangeliste celebrata fuit prima missa in majori altari beati johannis kylkenny." "Anno m° cc° nonogesimo die annunciacionis beate marie celebrata fuit prima missa in capella beate marie in monasterio sancti johannis kylkenny." The *Liber Primus* of Kilkenny, in Gilbert, *Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland*.

¹ See Archdall, who quotes the *Annals of Inisfallen*. It also appears to have received a large benefaction, partly "for enlarging and beautifying their house," about 1311 A.D., *ibid.*

² MS. fragment by Bishop Rothe, *De Ossoriensi Diocesi*, quoted by Carrigan, *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, p. 7.

³ John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel, 1450-1482, "repaired the monastery of the Dominicans at Cashell [at his own charges; which had been burnt down and utterly ruined]." Ware, edited by Harris, *The History of the Bishops of Ireland*, p. 481.

foils.¹ In the north transept at Cashel the central lancet in the triplet is actually the shortest, so as to leave room above it for a curious circular window, having quatrefoiled tracery in the opening; on the outside the panel framing this had nine 'foils,' the quatrefoil being made to fit these; hence its curious appearance on the inside: the west end of the church at Gowran is remarkably like this in general design—without the abnormal features. At Kilkenny, as we have seen, as well as at Gowran, quatrefoils are in the aisles combined with lancets so as to form early plate tracery,² and there are other more or less similar examples elsewhere in Ireland. But lancets, which were so effectively used, maintained an existence in Ireland long after the thirteenth century.

On the outside of these churches there are few buttresses; it is very rare to find them at regular intervals along the walls, they seem to be used only where they are absolutely required. Thus Hore Abbey (near Cashel) has strong and elaborate buttresses at its eastern corners, but the nature of the ground, which is soft and spongy, made this necessary. At Kilkenny Cathedral they are used at the corners only; Ardfert Cathedral has fewer still; and in general they are apt to be conspicuous by their absence to an eye accustomed to English buildings. Their omission may be due partly to conservatism; but it was made possible by the fact that the roofs were now almost all of wood, and timber roofing does not call for buttresses (or for very thick walls) to the same extent as groined vaulting does to resist its thrust. It is curious that, just when in England such vaulting was rising to greater perfection, in Ireland, where some sort of stone roofing had been so long in use, it should now have been practically given up so far as churches were concerned. No doubt, even with plenty of timber available for centering (as would then be the case in Ireland), the wooden roof was still the more economical.

Although buttresses are so often omitted or sparingly used in Ireland, yet the Irish builder did not feel himself bound by convention not to prop or strengthen a building by this means in any way that might seem desirable. Thus in the nave of the Collegiate Church at Gowran the north aisle was long ago built off into compartments or chapels (corresponding to the bays) with walls at right angles to the nave, pierced only by doorways; buttresses, reaching nearly to the top

¹ There are similar clerestory windows in the church at Lancing, Sussex.

² A print in Harris' edition of Ware's *History of the Bishops of Ireland*, shews a similar window in the castle forming the west end of Cashel Cathedral; this part has now fallen.

CHOIR, ARDRETT CATHEDRAL (pp. 158, 188).

EAST WINDOW AND ALTAR OF ST. FRANCIS, ENNIS ABBEY
(pp. 158, 159, 188).

CHOIR, ARDRETT ABBEY (p. 158).

KILKENNY CATHEDRAL; INTERIOR FROM NORTH-WEST
(PP. 157 ETC.; AND SEE PL. LXXXI, 1).

SOUTH TRANSEPT AND PART OF TOWER, BLACK ABBEY,
KILKENNY (PP. 158, 166, 193; AND
SEE PL. LXXXV, 4).

PIER AT CROSSING AND NORTH SIDE OF CHOIR,
CASHEL CATHEDRAL (PP. 141, 158 ETC.).

SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE, KILDARE CATHEDRAL
(PP. 158, 161).

PART OF SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE, KILKENNY
CATHEDRAL (PP. 159, 160; AND
SEE PL. LXXVII, 3).

WEST FRONT OF CATHEDRAL AND ROUND
TOWER, KILKENNY (PP. 49, 50;
159, 160).

DUNBRODY ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (PP. 159, 195, 234).

of the clerestory wall, run down into these; the cross-walls are continued in small buttresses outside the walls of the aisle. The whole forms an unusually strong, if somewhat clumsy, set of abutments.¹ The eastern half of Dunbrody Abbey has no buttresses (though the walls batter), but—besides some unobtrusive buttressing on the west of the piers carrying the central tower—in the north aisle buttresses propping the nave wall simply come down to the ground inside the aisle; most of these do not reach high up and were completely inside the building, but one great stepped buttress reaches nearly to the top of the clerestory wall, and approaches the wall of the aisle, to which it is now joined by a nearly flat arch. There are also buttresses inside the south aisle of Bective Abbey. The pilaster buttresses attached to the west end of the Gothic nave at Gowran—a survival from Transitional or from Romanesque architecture—have been mentioned in the last chapter.

Ireland has never been a wealthy country; and even in its more important churches cost was usually saved by the sparing use of ornament; further, Cistercian churches were, as a rule, (at least in the earlier centuries of the Order's history) built simply, as a matter of principle, and Cistercian influence upon others was considerable; we have already seen signs of this at Ballintober Abbey. Christchurch and Cashel² Cathedrals, indeed, have a large amount of carving; so have the south aisles of St. John's Priory, Kilkenny, and of Gowran Church; and the arcade standing in the churchyard at Thomastown (Co. Kilkenny) is ornamented with nail-head and foliage of an early type; but in most churches the use of ornament is very limited, as in Kilkenny Cathedral, though here the arches are fully moulded; at Gowran, a few miles off, an arcade otherwise extraordinarily similar has its arches chamfered, and so has the nave of Clare-Galway Abbey. In Kildare Cathedral many of the shafts inside the windows are turned in to the wall a short distance down from the capitals. Hore Abbey (founded for Cistercians about 1270),³ below the Rock of Cashel, has a

¹ At Chichester the buttresses were taken into the building, so as to form two outer aisles to the nave of the cathedral. King's College Chapel, Cambridge, also has 'internal buttresses,' but it has no arcade, therefore no proper aisles. See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 197, 199. For examples of 'internal buttressing' at Rome, and in France, see Bond, as above, pp. 197, 199, 290, 362; also, for those at Alby and Toulouse, see Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (1893 ed.), vol. ii, pp. 69-71; and for examples in Spain, where this arrangement is common, see Fergusson, as above, ii, p. 485, etc.

² Cashel Cathedral is said to have been repaired in the first half of the XV century, and again after a fire in 1495 (see Ware, *Bishops*, pp. 477, 480), but most or all of the carving appears plainly to be of XIII century character.

³ See Archdall, and Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 275.

nave plainer than almost any parish church in England; this was a Cistercian Church, but the nave of Ardfert Cathedral—or at least its western part, as rebuilt in this period—is hardly less plain. On the other hand the nave (or lay-brothers' church) of Dunbrody—a Cistercian Abbey—has, in the eastern bay of its arcade, mouldings at the edges of the soffit, and a moulded rib in the centre (in the other bays these are merely chamfered); the capitals supporting the ribs¹ have some simple ornament, and one double window in the clerestory (the clerestory windows here, as at Iona, stand above the piers) is of elaborate and excellent design and ornamentation. The mouldings (where these occur) are, as a rule, much like those used in the corresponding style in England.

We have already seen that the foliage-carving at Christchurch, Dublin, is wholly English. At Cashel some of it is of a more vernacular character; it is strong, but rather shallow and stiff where it is executed in limestone; there are bits of foliage like this at Kilkenny in the south-west porch of the Cathedral, and in the south aisle, or Lady Chapel, of St. John's Church (such carving we shall find copied in late Irish Gothic); that by the windows of Cashel Cathedral, in sandstone, is less distinctive. With the conservatism which is such a common characteristic of Irish architecture, decoration belonging properly to Romanesque or Transitional work is retained to a much later date than in England; the nail-head ornament (somewhat like 'dog-tooth,' but without undercutting) appears on the capital of a pillar in Cashel Cathedral—it was used much later still—around others there are rope-moulding and beads; rope-moulding is similarly used in Dunbrody Abbey and beads on the capitals of the westernmost bay² in Christchurch Cathedral, which appears to be Irish work. At the east end of Ardfert Cathedral one capital is ornamented with a simple interlaced pattern, while others are carved with flowers of most natural appearance. And in the north wall of the choir at Cashel there is a still more curious mixture, the filleted moulding round a doorway being cut into 'billets'; the general effect is obvious, but on close examination the ornament appears as far more elaborate, since two smaller and lower mouldings join every 'billet' to the next one—the larger moulding covering up, as it were, at intervals the two smaller ones.

The slight importance attached to formal symmetry apparent in the circular north transept window at Cashel Cathedral is also visible in the varying arrangement of the clustered pillars at the crossing there, which is at no two corners alike—we have seen the same freedom in the varied ornament of the three sister-windows at Abbey Knockmoy and

¹ See pp. 143, 144.

² See p. 140, and Appendix V.

NAVE FROM SOUTH-WEST, GOWRAN (PP. 160, 161, AND SEE PLS. LXIX, 5, LXXIX, 1).

SOUTH AISLE OF NAVE, GOWRAN (PP. 143, 161, 182 NOTE).

To face p. 162

HAY OF NAWE, HORE ABBEY (PP. 159, 161, 162).

NAWE ARCADE, CLARE-GALWAY ABBEY (P. 161).

ROUND TOWER AND CATHEDRAL, CASHEL, FROM THE
NORTH-EAST (PP. 61, 160; AND SEE PL. LXXVII, 3).

NORTH TRANSEPT, CASHEL CATHEDRAL
(PP. 160, 162).

To face p. 162

BUTTRESSES IN SOUTH AISLE OF NAVE,
DUNBRODY ABBEY (P. 161).

EASTERN BAY OF NAVE ARCADE AND CLERESTORY
WINDOWS, DUNBRODY ABBEY (PP. 162, 234, 235).

ARCH WITH BILLET-ORNAMENT, AND LATE GOTHIC
ALTAR-TOMB, ADAPTED STILL LATER,
CASHEL CATHEDRAL (PP. 162; 188).

TOMB IN CHANCEL, CLARE-GALWAY ABBEY (LATE
XIV OR XV CENTURY, SEE PP. 157,
165 ETC.; 172 ETC.).

To face p. 162

Ballintober.¹ It is shewn also in the disproportionate length of the south transept in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, already mentioned, and at Cashel the nave is shorter than the choir.

It was, of course, not in Ireland only that churches were in some cases so constructed as to be fortresses at the same time. Near the Scotch border and in Wales, as well as in Ireland, the church tower is sometimes obviously intended to serve that purpose of defence which fixed its ordinary position over the west door, the principal entrance. At Clymping, near Littlehampton, a tower attached to the south transept has evidently been fitted with a drawbridge, though the moat has long since been filled up, and the precincts of Lichfield and St. David's Cathedrals were fortified; so also was Arbroath Abbey. The same idea is in various Irish churches carried out in interesting ways. Cashel was from early times a hill-fortress (somewhat like Erfurt in Germany), and such it remained after it was dedicated to ecclesiastical uses, the Cathedral being so designed as to form a citadel to this. Its walls are in some places six feet thick: Cormac's Chapel and the Round Tower were joined on to it; a castle² forms its western end; the passages in its walls, admitting the defenders to all parts of the fortress, were themselves secured at several points by 'murdering holes' commanding them from above. Kildare Cathedral too is constructed as a fortress. There are steps on the top of each gable to give the defenders access to any part of the building that might be attacked. There is also an exterior line (or thickness) of wall, which, joined to the main wall of the church between the windows, swells into buttresses, and is carried on arches over the lancets. But above the windows there is a narrow slit between the two lines of wall,³ that those standing on the battlements might pour molten lead, or shoot arrows upon any who tried to enter at the windows. A fortified church at Royat in Auvergne is built on the same principle.⁴ In the XIII century church⁵ built on to

¹ This is also plain in the two east windows, unlike in size as well as in elaboration, of one of the churches on Inislaraun, an island in Lough Ree—these windows may be of slightly different date; in Melaghlin's church also, at Clonmacnois, the two east windows are not quite similar. There are two east windows of different sizes in an ancient church on *Eilean Mor*, an island off the Knapdale coast; see Macgibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, illustration, i, p. 90.

² This was to a considerable extent 'restored' in the XV century.

³ This is plain also in the old views of the ruined Cathedral before restoration. I could not thus verify the steps, though I have no doubt that they are correctly reproduced. See Ware, *Bishops*, after p. 378, and Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, after p. 24.

⁴ See Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 93; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, vol. vi, p. 200.

⁵ See Ware, *Bishops*, pp. 602, 607.

the east end of the Romanesque chancel at Tuam there is something similar, but in appearance only, for there are no slits, the projecting wall being merely for ornament, as are battlements upon screen-work in England. The elaborate Irish battlements, at once useful and ornamental, are generally attributed to the XV century. Many of this pattern were certainly built then upon towers and elsewhere, but it would perhaps be difficult to prove that something similar was not in use before; they are very like the battlement ornament of Irish Romanesque architecture and the piscina in Kilkenny Cathedral already mentioned.¹ Some uncertainty as to date attaches to other features besides the battlements in the fortification of Jerpoint Abbey. Over the door opening into the north aisle (the only entrance to the church except from the monastery, which is on the south side) is a machicolated defence for it, such as is used on castles;² west of this is a piece of wall jutting out from the church, pierced by a gateway with a flattish pointed arch; the wall is thick, and has battlements on both sides; it shews no sign of having abutted on anything at its outer end. The west end of the north aisle is defended, or taken in, by a wall which runs from the north-west corner of the aisle to the north-west corner of the nave, much as Cormac's Chapel is joined to the Cathedral at Cashel. The Abbey of Kells (the Kells in Co. Kilkenny) was placed in a fortified enclosure joining on to another equally fortified, now locally known as "the Burgess";³ it was founded towards the end of the XII century (Austin Canons being brought there from Bodmin),⁴ much altered in later times.

A still more interesting building, as reproducing the old Irish combination of church and living-rooms under one stone roof, is St Doulough's, near Dublin. St. Doulough lived about the year 600, and no doubt his oratory or his cell (which probably at one time resembled *Labba Molaga*, or 'St. Declan's House' at Ardmore) was the forefather of the present building, erected upon the same site, and containing in its western compartment on the ground floor a mass of

¹ There is a cope-box under the chapter house at Wells which has similar ornament; this may be a coincidence, or the pattern may be derived from Ireland.

² E.g. at Tomgraney; it is sometimes (but perhaps incorrectly) called a 'bartizan'; the French name is *échauguette*. (See Viollet-le-Duc, as above, article *Échauguette*, e.g. fig. 15). It is tempting to attribute these defences (or some of them) to the abbot who, in 1356, was accused of a raid upon the abbey of Tintern (see Archdall). But there is no proof of such connection, and the general advantage in Ireland of having the monastery defensible is a sufficient explanation.

³ Carrigan, *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, iv, p. 69.

⁴ Archdall (quoting Ware's MSS.) gives 1193; Ware (*Antiquities*, p. 263), says "about 1183."

masonry known as the tomb of St. Doulough, which served as an altar—in accordance with an early custom of the Christian Church.¹ In 1406 its chaplain was *anachorita inclusus*, and as “there were no sufficient means to support him and to repair and adorn the said place,” an indulgence was granted by the Archbishop of Armagh to those contributing towards these objects. About 1506 a chantry worth £4 annually was established there. The church attached on the north was rebuilt in 1864, though it has obviously succeeded an earlier church—or large aisle.² But the southern part, out of which the tower springs (called in Dr. Reeves’s time the ‘Castle,’ as opposed to the ‘Church’ adjoining it), appears to be mainly of the XIII century, with some windows of the XIV century or later. Besides the room in the tower, it contains two chapels on the ground floor, and a long room which is provided with a fire-place on the top storey; by raising the floor in the western part of this, and lowering the ceiling of the chapel below, another room is added between the two storeys; there is also a sort of penitent’s bed, much like a berth on board ship, opening off the stairs. Though the name ‘Castle’ was most naturally given to the building from its general appearance, there does not seem to have been any definite intention of fortifying it.

There is, comparatively speaking, not a large amount of pure ‘Decorated’ work, belonging to the XIV century, in Ireland. Types of window tracery seem to have been imported ready-developed, though they were varied locally. A great many of the windows in Ireland of ‘Decorated’ character belong to the XV century. The two styles—Early and Middle Gothic—overlap in Ireland, some buildings being more advanced than their contemporaries; the Lady Chapel of St. John’s Priory, Kilkenny, finished in A.D. 1290, while it has (as we have seen) triplets of lancet windows along its south wall, had a window of intersecting tracery, somewhat elaborated, filling its east end. But it appears that XIII century architecture—with lancet windows—was still the prevailing style at least for some time after A.D. 1300; the addition to the choir of the Franciscan friary at Kilkenny, with its sevenfold lancet window, was built in 1321.³ The remains of the choir

¹ See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i, pp. 62, 63.

² See Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, edited by Moran, ii, pp. 138, 139, and illustration there, or in Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland*, opposite p. 78; also Reeves, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, paper read April 11, 1859.

³ “1321. . . . Item erigitur novus chorus Kilkennie.” Also under the year 1347 the burial is recorded of Isabella Palmer, “que frontem chori fratrum erigi fecit.” Clyn, *Annalium Hiberniae Chronicon ad annum 1349*.

of Christchurch, Dublin, built about the middle of the XIV century, shew good 'stiff-leaf' foliage on the plaster capitals, and XIII century stone mouldings.¹ One of the capitals has a ring of nail-head ornament below. In 1315-1318 Edward Bruce's invasion brought a large part of the country to a state of the greatest misery, permanently reduced the control of the central government, and led the way to a further series of disorders. It was also in the XIV century that the Black Death ravaged Ireland. It is therefore not surprising that but very few new monasteries should have been founded during this period; and thus the older foundations, whose means were curtailed by the state of the country, would also be deprived of an example and of emulation, leading to what has been called "silent re-building." Some 'improvements' however—according to the later fashion—there certainly were; churches would be brought up to date where the means were forthcoming. Thus the small Norman windows in the east end of Jerpoint Abbey Church were replaced by a large 'Decorated' (Geometrical) window, edged, both inside and outside, with ball-flower. The Augustinian Abbey of Fethard² (Co. Tipperary) retains several old windows with tracery of similar character, and no doubt of XIV century date. The parish church at Callan has a good 'reticulated' east window (cusped) and another of like style built into its tower. There is a similar window in the transept at Ennis, and a window of 'Decorated' type in monastic buildings on Iniscleraun, an island in Lough Ree. The transept of the Black Abbey at Kilkenny ends in a magnificent window of intersecting tracery (which superseded a set of lancets), and has others along its east side of similar date, one of which has very unusual tracery—the aisle added on its west side about the same time has been already mentioned.

The 'Decorated' architecture of Ireland follows to a very large extent the English examples from which it is derived. But there are not wanting in it Irish peculiarities which are continued in the more distinctively vernacular style of the XV century, and help to give it its character. Thus the sedilia of the Magdalen Chapel in Limerick Cathedral were probably built about 1360-1370;³ such twisted columns are very rare (though not unknown) in England at the time, in Ireland a good many instances of them are to be found somewhat later; they were

¹ For the date, see Ware, *Bishops*, p. 332, "John de St. Paul (1349-1362) very much enlarged and beautified the Church of the Holy Trinity, for he built the choir at his own charge."

² Founded in 1306. Ware, *Bishops*, p. 476; *Antiquities*, p. 283.

³ See Dowd, *St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick*, pp. 19, 20.

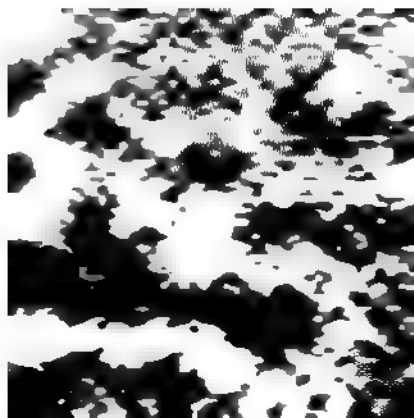
SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE, KILDARE CATHEDRAL, AND
ROUND TOWER (PP. 163, 164; 48).

CHOIR OF TUAM CATHEDRAL (PP. 163, 164).

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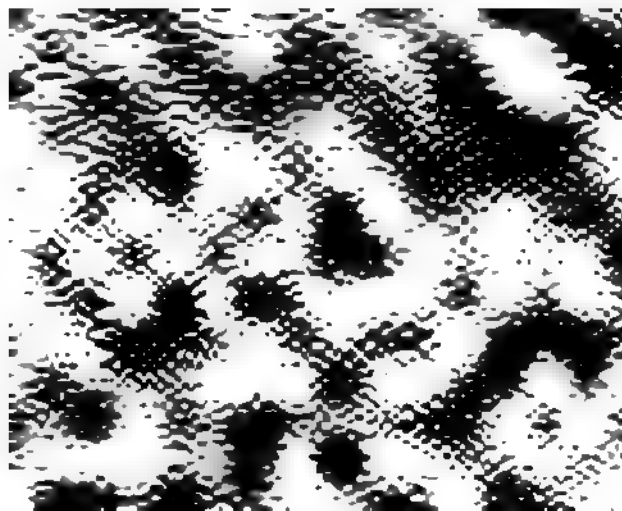
ST. DOULOUGH'S, FROM THE EAST (PP. 164, 165).

ST. DOULOUGH'S, FROM THE WEST (PP. 164, 165)



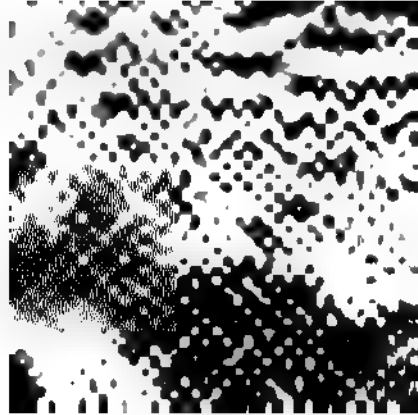
SEDILIA IN CHAPEL, LIMERICK
CATHEDRAL (P. 166).

INTERIOR OF UPPER ROOM WITH STONE ROOF,
ST. DOULOUGH'S (PP. 164, 165).



TOWER AND CHANCEL OF FRANCISCAN FRIARY,
KILKENNY (PP. 165, 167).

TRANSEPT AND TRANSEPT AISLE, BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY
(PP. 158, 166; AND SEE PL. LXXIX, 2).



SEDILIA IN CHAPEL, LIMERICK
CATHEDRAL (P. 166).

INTERIOR OF UPPER ROOM WITH STONE ROOF,
ST. DOULOUGH'S (PP. 164, 165).

TOWER AND CHANCEL OF FRANCISCAN FRIARY,
KILKENNY (PP. 165, 167).

TRANSEPT AND TRANSEPT AISLE, BLACK ABBEY, KILKENNY
(PP. 158, 166; AND SEE PL. LXXIX, 2).

MONASTIC BUILDINGS ON INISCLERAUN (P. 166).

EAST WINDOW, JERPOINT ABBEY, AND REMAINS OF
ROMANESQUE WINDOWS (PP. 166; 132).

'DECORATED' WINDOWS OF NAVE, AND GRAVE-SLAB,
FETHARD ABBEY (PP. 166; 78, 203).

PART OF EAST SIDE OF TRANSEPT, ENNIS ABBEY
(PP. 166, 190).
(The window to the right is late.)

To face p. 166

probably a revival of Romanesque ornament, or they may have been re-introduced from Italy. The tower of the Franciscan Abbey at Kilkenny (built about 1348),¹ is interesting as an early approach to those high, slender, plain, and often tapering towers, of which many were built a little later on (they are most common in Franciscan churches); these may well have owed something to a free imitation of the Round Tower. The one just mentioned has, as is not uncommon in later examples, short stone roofs on each side, covering embryo transepts which acted as buttresses—these recall the early stone roofs which had been so common in Ireland.

¹ "1347 . . . Item incepit confraternitas Fratrum Minorum Kilkennie pro campanili novo erigendo, et ecclesia reparanda, dominica prima Adventus Domini." Clyn (as above).

CHAPTER XI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMPOSITE NATIONAL STYLE

IT is plain that, from the time when Gothic architecture established itself in Ireland down to the XV century, its local divergences from normal English buildings (some isolated, some occurring in a number of instances), though interesting and sometimes striking, had not been enough to constitute more than the possible germs of a national style. But in the XV century, when the erection of ecclesiastical buildings took a fresh start (for many friaries were founded then, and such new work would form an example for adding to or remodelling the old), builders in Ireland, starting from architecture still in use there, or from such as was hardly obsolete, re-introducing points characteristic of earlier Irish buildings, and borrowing from England and perhaps from other countries, so combined and varied their patterns as to work out something like a national style of architecture.

To the visitor who has some knowledge of English architecture, many Irish buildings of the XV and early XVI centuries may seem, on a superficial view, merely to have been erected bit by bit at a number of different times, though with some obvious variations from what he has observed in England. That this view would be mistaken will be clear, if we look for a moment at certain ecclesiastical establishments which were not in existence before this period—for instance, the Franciscan Abbey at Adare, founded in 1464; Muckross Abbey (well known to those who visit Killarney), about 1450; Callan Abbey, about 1470;¹ Quin Abbey, in the first third of the XV century.² It is from such buildings, of more or less certain date, that the main characteristics of Late Irish Gothic can be most easily and most certainly fixed.

The church of the Franciscan Friary at Adare has in its chancel, on the south side, pairs of lancet windows, the pair near the east end

¹ The clear proof of this is given by Carrigan, *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, III, p. 311.

² Luke Wadding says, in 1433; *Annals of the Four Masters*, in 1402. For the dates of Quin as well as Adare, Muckross, and some other XV and XVI century abbeys, see Appendix A A, The Dates of certain XV and XVI century Abbeys and the Dating of a 'Foundation.'

FRANCISCAN ABBEY, ADARE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (PP. 168, 169, 180, 190, 192, 193, 239, 240).

KITCHEN, QUIN ABBEY (PP. 168, 169, 170, 241, 242).

To face p. 168

CALLAN ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST (PP. 168, 169, 180 NOTE, 190).

SEDILIA AND PISCINA, CALLAN
ABBAY (P. 169).

MUCKROSS ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (PP. 168, 169, 190, 241).

To face p. 168

being grouped under a horizontal hood-mould or label, while each set opens on the inside under a flattish arch, the most easterly of which is definitely four-centred; the west window is a triplet of lancets under a single arch; the east window and that at the end of the transept have tracery of the simple kind in which the mullions of the lower lights are merely prolonged—intersecting each other, since these lights are more than two in number—until they reach the head of the window, a type which appeared in England in the XIII century, and of which there are a good many examples, often elaborated, in the XIV. Not far from the window last mentioned is one of two lights, grouped under a label, which closely resembles English XV century work. The transept has two chapels opening out of its eastern side, as in Cistercian churches.

Muckross Abbey has windows of like character, and a west door with shallow but rather elaborate mouldings of an Irish type. The cloisters are built to carry a story; their arches are round on two sides of the quadrangle, pointed on the other two.

Of the Augustinian Abbey at Callan the church only remains. It has curious cusplless east and west windows of a type which might be called Flamboyant, rectangular windows filled with cusplless reticulated tracery, and sedilia adorned with simple but effective mouldings and good foliage of a late type.

A more or less definite date—the first half of the XV century—can also be assigned to Quin Abbey, Co. Clare, a well-preserved Franciscan friary of great interest. It was founded in 1402 or in 1433; we have already seen instances of a double date in the case of the monasteries at Strata Florida and at Corcomroe (pp. 134, 234); this may be due to the insufficiency of the revenues assigned by the original founder, or sometimes to other causes. Thus the abbey of Vale Royal in Cheshire took its start on another site in 1273; the foundation-stone of the church was laid, on the site finally chosen, by Edward I in 1277; the first abbot, John Chaumpneys, by his influence with that king, got the monastery richly endowed; the monks removed to “mean and strait lodgings” near their future abbey in 1281; but this was not finished when they celebrated their occupation of it in 1330.¹ And the author of the *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sanctæ Crucis in Hibernia*² having two dates for the foundation of Holycross Abbey to reconcile (while the authentic history of the monastery was for the most part lost), gives quite a long list of points or landmarks in the development

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846 ed.), V, p. 701, etc. The progress to completion of Boyle Abbey was also very slow; see Appendix U.

² Edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., pp. 22, 23. See Appendix AA.

of a monastery, according to which the 'foundation' might be fixed. Thus two dates for a foundation, even if there is a considerable interval between them, do not at all necessarily imply that the evidence is conflicting, and therefore untrustworthy.

The church of Quin Abbey is in plan unlike those which are usual in England. It has (like the churches at Muckross and Adare above-mentioned) a transept on the south side only, and this transept begins to the west of the tall, plain, tapering tower, which is supported north and south by the short roofs of stone, acting as abutments, which we have already seen in the Franciscan Abbey at Kilkenny. There was a wooden gallery at the west end of the nave. The buildings stand on the site of a late XIII century castle, which was ruined by its Irish neighbours a few years after its foundation;¹ much of it, no doubt, supplied building material for the abbey; but the old castle gateway still remains as a part of the southern abutment to the tower, and the church uses other parts of the old thick walls, refaced—as, for instance, in the south side of the chancel. Here openings are cut through the castle wall, splayed inwards and outwards, and are arched over with segmental arches; half-way through, mullions are inserted to form a pair and a triplet of lancet windows. Other windows (in the transept) are of XIV century character; the large windows at the east end of the chancel and the south end of the transept have the intersecting mullions which are so common in Late Irish Gothic; above the cloisters are square-headed Perpendicular windows. The west door has a square label over it continued below in mouldings of a shallow type, square steps and quarter-rounds, without any definite grouping. The pointed arch between the nave and transept is almost plain except for a chamfered rib which starts from pointed brackets or corbels. The cloisters are of the usual Irish type, and carry a story; some of the pillars are twisted; chamfered buttresses are inserted at regular intervals; there is a vaulted roof of a rough kind, which is groined (without ribs) by the entrance to the church—here the wattle-marks from the centering used are particularly plain. To judge by the corbels, a wooden ceiling has been put up under the rough vault, or at least intended; similar corbels are to be seen in the kitchen. Besides the cloister roof, the whole of the vaulting over the rooms on the lower floor has held so well that these would still be habitable (I spent one wet day there in considerable comfort); the dormitory on the upper floor—at right angles to the church, on the north—wants only its wooden roof; the high altar, as well as the two altars at the east end of the

¹ See *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1900, pp. 428, 429.

WEST DOORWAY AND EAST WINDOW, QUIN ABBEY
(PP. 168, 170, 185, 190, 241, 242).

OPENING TO TRANSEPT, QUIN ABBEY
(PP. 170, 183, 190).

CLOISTERS, QUIN ABBEY
(PP. 170, 194, 195).

CLOISTERS, QUIN ABBEY
(PP. 170, 189, 194, 195).

DORMITORY, QUIN ABBEY

(P. 170).

QUIN ABBEY, FROM THE
SOUTH, AND REMAINS OF
CASTLE TOWER (PP. 170,
182, 192, 241, 242).

WINDOW IN CHANCEL,
QUIN ABBEY (P. 170).

To face p. 170

TOMB IN CAHAN ABBEY (PP. 172, 244, 245).

CLOISTER ARCADE AND EARLY DOORWAY INTO CHURCH, HOLYCROSS ABBEY
(PP. 172 ETC., 176, 177).

To face p. 170

nave, are intact; it is not surprising to hear that the friars kept returning to the abbey, and only left it finally in 1760. To the north of the chancel a building of two stories has been attached, and enlarged in some way after its erection; this was, no doubt, a sacristy below; there are similar buildings joined to the churches of the Franciscan Abbeys at Adare, Muckross, and Askeaton; they bear a considerable resemblance in plan to that which stands in a similar position at Iona—as it was before the disastrous ‘restoration’ of the choir and transepts of the Cathedral.

This sketch of certain buildings which unquestionably belong to the XV century will be enough to indicate in outline a good many of the characteristics of Late Irish Gothic; these obviously call for some explanation, and it will be best to turn back for a moment and try to re-construct for ourselves the position of things when this style began to take shape.

The condition of things architectural in Ireland towards A.D. 1400 appears to have been somewhat as follows. It was a comparatively short time since the lancet window and other points of Early Gothic architecture had been in use; and, as the building of churches had of late been so largely in abeyance, that style can hardly be said to have been definitely superseded. On the other hand there were examples of the newer or ‘Decorated’ style in Ireland, and across the Channel plenty of these, along with a growing quantity of Perpendicular work, which could hardly be altogether disregarded. It seems natural that, when Irish building again became active, these influences should have united to produce a vernacular or national style which owed a debt to all of them. It should be added that in looking back for their models the Irish builders also adopted certain points from Romanesque architecture, and that they may at this time have owed some small debt to Italy, France, and Scotland.

It is interesting to notice that the later Gothic of Scotland,¹ and the Flamboyant style in France² arose about the same time as the Late Gothic of Ireland, and to a considerable extent through similar causes, the new style in each case marking a renewed activity in building after

¹ See Macgibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, ii, pp. 331, 332; where, however, a fresh departure in style, from about 1460, is indicated, the architecture between 1400 and 1460 being classed as Middle Pointed, the XIV century having in Scotland been almost barren in building.

² See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 128-132, and quotations from French authorities there.

it had been largely suspended owing to wars and disturbances; and that, while differing greatly from each other, these styles agree in this, that they all owe a large debt to English XIV century architecture. The fact that from the beginning of the XV century building in Ireland became active once more is shewn not only in the friaries founded (or re-founded), but in a considerable amount of rebuilding, alteration, and addition in the older foundations; even in the smaller churches it is very common to find earlier work—of the Romanesque period, for instance—transformed more or less in the style of the XV and early XVI centuries. There are, of course, also instances of necessary 'restoration,' where, as in the Dominican Abbeys at Cashel, Sligo, and Athenry,¹ damage, greater or less, had been caused by fire. On the whole it would not be too much to say that it is the exception to find a monastery or a parish church in Ireland which does not shew some work executed at this period. Thus the amount of building which then went on afforded good scope and opportunity for working out and developing the new style, while it now gives us numerous examples from which its characteristics can be judged.

We have in the last chapter already noticed some points in buildings erected in Ireland in the XIV century which lead up to Irish XV century architecture and help to explain it. A splendid tomb in Cahan Abbey, near Dungiven, assigned, on what seem to be reasonable grounds,² to Cooey-na-Gall, chief of the O'Cahans or O'Kanes, who died in 1385, "while at the pinnacle of prosperity and renown," will further illustrate the state of things shortly before the XV century, particularly as to the survival of features associated with an earlier date; 'Decorated' tracery and mouldings above are here combined with mouldings which suggest a much earlier period on the armed men's niches below; there is a banded shaft and nail-head ornament such as had long been obsolete in England. It will now be well to look at a monastery which appears in some sort to bridge over the transition in Ireland from the 'Decorated' Gothic to the eclectic vernacular style which established itself there in the XV century.

Holycross Abbey was founded for Cistercians in 1169 or in 1182,³ to receive a fragment of the True Cross; to the possession of this it

¹ Ware, *Bishops*, p. 481; Wood Martin, *History of Sligo*, i, pp. 194, 195; Archdall.

² See Appendix BB, The Tomb in Cahan Abbey, near Dungiven.

³ *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sanctæ Crucis in Hibernia*, edited by the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., pp. xlviii, xlix, 19-25. The author seems also to have known a tradition that the original church was consecrated in 1213 or 1214; in that case a part at least of the original building must have been Transitional.

owed its distinction, the abbot ranking as an earl. It was no doubt largely owing to the offerings made by pilgrims to the relic that the community was able to transform its buildings (which in Cistercian monasteries was most unusual), somewhat as the monks of Gloucester were enabled to remodel the choir and other parts of their church from the gifts contributed by pilgrims to the shrine of Edward II in the Cathedral.¹ It is likely that the general plan of the church of Holy-cross has remained unaltered throughout; this closely resembles that of Jerpoint Abbey, for instance (belonging to the same order), having aisles to the nave, and two pairs of chapels on the east of the transepts. The ritual choir extends some distance west of the crossing, where is a wall—pierced by a plain pointed arch—rising to the full height of the building. There is a room above the chancel, having a seat in its east window, and another above the north transept; rooms also over each pair of transept chapels, both of which command a view of the high altar; that on the south contains a fireplace and other signs that it was used as a living-room. (It appears that there was also a wooden floor over the south transept and over the part cut off from the nave by the wall dividing it.) Thus the eastern part of the church is two-storied, and this interweaving of church and living-rooms is a custom of old standing in Ireland, to which attention has already been drawn;² here it may well be a continuation of the arrangement in the original building. The nave arcade on the north, of roughly built pointed arches standing on plain piers, is probably of early date; it bears a good deal of resemblance to those in the western part of other Cistercian churches which we have noticed, for instance at Corcomroe; the age of the arcade on the south side is less certain. But apparently all the unmistakably Romanesque—or Transitional—detail that survives is in a doorway opening into the cloisters, with capitals of unusual form; though there is nail-head and rope-moulding ornamenting a capital now fixed to the wall in the north aisle, just west of the crossing, it has a hole made through it, and was no doubt intended to hold the staff of a processional cross, or of a banner. There were lancets at the west end before the present Perpendicular window was inserted; but a more certain example of work carried out after the original church was completed is afforded by the elaborate buttresses to the eastern part of the church,³ which are a good deal like those at Hore Abbey, and may

¹ See *Triumphalia*, quotations on pp. lxii-lxiv; Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 499.

² See pp. 41, 121, 122, and Appendix R, Intermixture of Church and Dwelling.

³ The ground slopes down here towards the river Suir, which is close by.

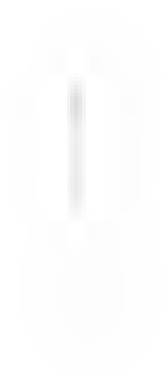
probably be of similar date. At a late period there has been a very extensive remodelling, and this is what gives the church and the buildings attached to it their present character.

The windows of the transept-chapels are filled with good flowing tracery of Flamboyant type by no means without parallels in English Decorated work.¹ The great east window is 'reticulated,' but, as in the windows of the north transept-chapels, its lower lights only are cusped; the omission of cusps is usual in Late Irish Gothic; the ornamentation of the dripstone is peculiar. Above this window a projection of the wall is carried on pointed corbels, such as are common in Irish XV century architecture; the carrying out of the wall recalls the chancel of Tuam Cathedral. Over the great window is a small square-headed one, like English Perpendicular work, belonging to the room in the upper story. Inside, the stone vaulting of chancel and transepts and that under the tower is elaborately groined: some of the ribs are moulded (which is unusual in the later Irish vaulting); in part of the north transept roof they are cusped; the ribs die off into the wall as points. Shafts also end in points, with or without ornament, a short way down from the capitals, and in a chapel off the north transept shafts on each side of the window, as well as two bases for images, rest on pointed corbels. The arches opening from the south transept into its chapels are moulded; the corresponding arches in the north transept, the chancel arch, and the west arch of the tower are chamfered with more or less elaboration. All the eastern portion of the church is beautifully and elaborately finished—the Cistercian prohibition of ornate architecture² seems now to have been largely disregarded; but best of all are two specimens of carving, in the chancel and the south transept. The first of these, on the south side of the chancel, is and has long been known as 'The Tomb of the Good Woman's Son'—who these were has not been determined. There is a tomb behind the opening, and the whole may have been designed partly as an ornament to this, but, whatever else it may be, it is certainly the sedilia. The carving, if somewhat stiff, is excellent, in England it would belong to the latter part of the XIV century; but above the arches are coats of arms, one of which shews the arms of England in a form which is not found before about 1405.³

¹ See e.g., Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 130; and below, p. 190. What are apparently similar windows are represented in the old Cathedral of Waterford (destroyed in 1770), in Ware, *Bishops*, after p. 524, and the east window of St. Mary's, Clonmel (which is fully cusped) is of like character.

² See p. 133, note.

³ See Gardiner, *A Student's History of England*, i, p. 291, also p. 239.



PISCINA AND SEDILIA, HOLYCROSS ABBEY (PP. 174, 175).

TOMB BETWEEN CHAPELS OF SOUTH TRANSEPT, HOLYCROSS ABBEY (P. 175).

DOORWAYS OFF CLOISTERS, HOLYCROSS ABBEY (P. 176).

To face p. 174

SOUTH AISLE AND TRANSEPT, ARDFERT ABBEY,
FROM THE NORTH-WEST (PP. 176, 177).

SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE, HOLYCROSS ABBEY
(PP. 176, 177).

POINTED SHAFT, ORNAMENTED, AND MOULDINGS
OF DOOR IN SOUTH TRANSEPT, HOLYCROSS
ABBAY (PP. 176, 177, 186, 187;
185 NOTE, AND SEE PL. CI, FIG. 1).

The groining which supports the canopy dies into the wall in points; three of these end respectively in a piece of knot-work and in leaves. The wall dividing the south transept chapels is supported on two rows of twisted pillars; we have noticed this ornamentation in XIV century work at Limerick (also at Quin Abbey); it may either have been re-introduced from older examples (one of which may have existed here in the Romanesque or Transitional church superseded), or it may possibly have been borrowed from Italy; twisted shafts or mouldings are common in Late Irish Gothic. The pillars (as in the sedilia, both here and at Callan Abbey) have bases but no capitals; these are sometimes omitted in the Transitional work of England and Ireland,¹ as well as in late English buildings, and commonly in late French architecture. The wall which they carry forms the canopy of what appears to be a tomb; the roof is elaborately groined; the carving on the panelling below is apparently of similar date to that on the sedilia. The whole tomb-like structure has been thought to be the Shrine of the Relic; but since this is a piece of wood only some few inches long, such an explanation appears to be quite incredible.² It is locally considered to be 'The Waking-place of the Monks,'³ but according to the Cistercian Use the funeral services of these were held in the choir.⁴ There is a slot in which the covering slab could be fixed, it is of the right size for a tomb,⁵ and it is plainly nothing else, though whether it was ever occupied, and for whom it was made, must, like so much else in the history of this monastery, remain undetermined. Above it at one corner is a mutilated bit of sculpture, probably of Daniel and the Lions, covering the end of a pointed shaft which supported the central moulding of the arch above; in the corresponding position on the north side of the

¹ For instance, in a piscina at Glastonbury, a similar niche on the outside of the east wall of the choir of St. David's, in shallow Transitional arches, or panels, inside the central tower of Wimborne Minster, in the windows of Barfreston Church, near Dover; and, in Ireland, in a doorway of Boyle Abbey (see p. 148); there are also examples in St. Patrick's and Kildare Cathedrals.

² It is now in the Ursuline Convent at Blackrock, near Cork. See *Triumphalia*, pp. lxvii, lxviii.

³ Such local 'traditions' (so called) are of all degrees of value—and of worthlessness. They may either represent (1) a genuine tradition, (2) a guess by a native of the place, (3) a statement made by some visitor, very probably founded more on self-confidence than on knowledge. Both (2) and (3) are certainly very common sources of 'traditions' at the present day.

⁴ See *Liber Usuum Sacri Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, 1643, cap. xciv, etc.

⁵ It is of slightly less breadth and of somewhat greater length than two other ancient tombs in the church which I measured. I ascertained, by a practical experiment, that it is of the correct size for the purpose.

tomb are two angels. There is also a curious isolated carving of an owl—most life-like—on the face of the north-west pier at the crossing, besides other bits of carving irregularly placed both outside and inside the church; irregularity is, as we have seen, a common characteristic of Irish ornamentation.

The arcade of the cloisters (on the south of the church) was of much slighter and more delicate work than is usual in this part of an Irish monastery; from an English point of view it would be classed as of 'Decorated' character. Of the two doorways opening from the cloisters into the church the one which is Romanesque has been already mentioned; the other has a moulding—small hollows and square steps—of a type which is common in Irish XV century work.¹ The doorways opening into the rooms around (which, as is so often the case, retain their rough vaulted roofs) differ greatly from each other and suggest XIV century or even earlier work, though diverging greatly from English mouldings. The most remarkable of all contains an ogee arch, standing like tracery in a window, under a semi-circular head; both outer and inner arches, and the door-jambs too, are covered with a sort of billet ornament. We have noticed a similar use of the billet outside its own period in Cashel Cathedral; here again, in this later instance, Romanesque work on the site may have suggested the ornament.

To come back once more to the western part of the nave—the church of the lay-brothers. We have already seen reason for assigning the arcade on the north to a very early period in the history of the church. On the south the piers are similar, but the arches are round (with pointed relieving-arches above them); round arches too are thrown across the south aisle to the outer wall, and the piers have small buttresses on their outer side (see pp. 160, 161); these, and more especially the round arches acting as abutments, shew unmistakable signs of having been later additions. One is inclined at first sight to consider the southern arcade (as well as that on the north) as being in general an unaltered part of the earlier church. But, besides the fact that those early Cistercian churches which we have noticed use pointed arches for their nave arcades, round arches were often used in Late Irish Gothic, as we have seen in the cloisters at Muckross Abbey; and, at Ardfert Abbey, to a church of Early Gothic architecture a transept has subsequently been added which is connected with an enlarged south aisle

¹ It has replaced an earlier, higher door. The general impression given by this part of the buildings is that an earlier cloister-court has been to a large extent remodelled or rebuilt, probably by more stages than one.

ARCHES UNDER TOWER, AND CHANCEL, ROSERK ABBEY (PP. 178, 188 ETC.).

DOUBLE PISCINA, ROSERK ABBEY (PP. 178, 184, 185, 187, 192 NOTE).

by plain round arches very much like those at Holycross—obviously these cannot be of Romanesque date. While, therefore, in such absolutely plain building there is no certain evidence of date, it is possible that the arcade on the south is part of the late rebuilding. This aisle, which adjoins the cloister, has no windows in its bays; those on the north side are, like the west window, of Perpendicular character. There was certainly some sort of aisle on the south of the Romanesque or Transitional nave, as the doorway (already mentioned), visible both outside and inside, shews.

We cannot, of course, tell precisely how long this re-modelling took to complete, nor even whether it was carried on without interruption; nor can we fix the precise date at which each part of the building was transformed. But the Perpendicular features are unlikely to have appeared in Ireland much (if at all) before 1400, just as we saw that in adopting the points belonging to earlier Gothic styles Ireland was behind England in time. And we have seen that the sedilia must be of XV century date, although the character of their carving roughly coincides with late English 'Decorated' work, and the tomb in the south transept is of similar character—XIV century architecture in Ireland does not necessarily imply XIV century date. The probability therefore is that this last remodelling of the church began at all events not before the last part of the XIV century, while it must have been completed in the XV. The cloister arcade certainly appears to be of XIV century date; it is very unlike any XV century cloister in Ireland that I know. The architecture of this abbey stands to some considerable extent by itself, and perhaps this is largely due to the elaboration of its details; mouldings and ornament are much more freely used than in any other late Gothic church that I know of in Ireland; more money must have been available for it than was the case elsewhere. But, for all that, it certainly bridges over and makes it possible to understand the transition from XIV century architecture to the composite vernacular Irish style of the XV century. This is, I hope, more or less clear from the points which we have noticed; but it becomes much clearer from a study of the building itself.

Before some more detailed account is given of the characteristics of this developed style, the question arises, is it one style or more than one—that is to say, is there any point in the XV century or later at which, approximately, we may say that the features of the style change so much that it is more convenient and represents the facts better to give it a fresh name, or, at all events, to divide the one style into periods?¹ Now

¹ For the state of things in Scotland, see note, p. 171.

there is no doubt that there are buildings of the 150 years (roughly speaking) over which Late Irish Gothic extends which are earlier in character and others which are later; Roserk Abbey,¹ for instance, is obviously in character, and probably in date, considerably earlier than the neighbouring Abbey of Moyne, founded in 1460,² and most (at all events) of Ross Abbey, as it stands at present, is plainly of late character and probably of late date, in spite of the evidence for its XIV century foundation; Creevelea, or Dromahaire, Abbey, with its round arches under the tower, between nave and chancel, seems to agree in character with its XVI century date,³ though such round arches are also found at Moyne Abbey, which was founded half a century before. On the other hand, Slane Abbey Church is said to have been rebuilt in 1512,⁴ but its fully cusped west window certainly does not strike one as being particularly late; and the Franciscan Abbey at Adare (not founded till 1464) is in the general character of its architecture very distinctly earlier than is Moyne Abbey. The want of sure or close correspondence in architecture to date of building seems to be greater than can be accounted for by the more, or less, conservative tendencies of the builders—such as we find exemplified in England. But since the style was an eclectic one, borrowing from the architecture of earlier times (as well as from contemporary English work), it would hardly be strange that the apparent age of a building should in some cases vary considerably, according to the taste of the architect. And it is in the case of Ireland even more difficult than it so often is elsewhere to obtain satisfactory evidence as to the date of particular parts of buildings, such as might perhaps make it possible to assign limits to this variation. For both these reasons it is difficult or impossible—certainly it is unsafe—to attempt the construction of anything like a chronological table of the phases of this Late Irish Gothic. It would probably be true to say that, while certain buildings, or parts of them, are unmistakably late in the period, it is not so unquestionable that buildings or features which seem earlier are really so in date. Certainly many of the characteristics of the style are found both in buildings which fall early and in those which fall late in the period which we have assigned to it,

¹ Meehan, *The Rise and Fall of the Franciscan Monasteries in Ireland*, p. 65, speaks of it as "founded early in the 15th century." This is highly probable, but I can find no authority for it.

² Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xiii, p. 176; Ware, *Antiquities*, ii, p. 281; Archdall.

³ See Appendix AA.

⁴ Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 281.

MOYNE ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST (PP. 178, 180 ETC., 192, 193, 202).

ARCHES UNDER TOWER, AND CHANCEL, DROMAHAIRE
ABBAY (PP. 178, 188 ETC., 240, 241).

CLOISTERS, ROSS ABBEY (PP. 178, 182, 184, 194,
242, 243).

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and, though there are certain variations in the Late Gothic architecture of Ireland which are to some extent (though not altogether) earlier and later in time, it is quite possible, and more prudent, to treat of it as a single style. Of this some further account will be given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XII

LATE IRISH GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE

IN sketching Irish Gothic Architecture of the XV and of the first half of the XVI century, it will be best to begin with its favourite method of planning its buildings. Except in connection with friaries, few new churches of any considerable size were built at this period, and the friars' churches are of a more or less uniform plan. The cloister with the domestic buildings is usually on the north; and, where this is the case, any extension of the church will naturally be to the south;¹ the nave-aisle, if there is one, will be on the south side, and here will almost certainly be a transept of considerable size. Transepts are a very practical addition to a conventual church, since they give good facilities for placing extra altars correctly. There may be a transept-aisle to the west of this, such as we have already noticed—a work of the XIV century—in the Black Abbey at Kilkenny; and there may be transept chapels to the east; at Ross Abbey the additions to the church on the south form an irregular square, covering about as much ground as nave and chancel put together; those at Kilconnell are very similar in plan. Roserk and Moyne Abbeys have their transepts arranged in a very practical way. There are on the east side two recesses or altar-compartments, under round arches, and the space between these is filled by a small sacristy, which no doubt served for both altars; on the south of each recess a piscina is cut out of the corner of the wall, its plain arches opening westwards as well as northwards towards the altar.² Since Roserk appears plainly to be the older of the two Abbeys, the plan was probably³ copied at Moyne, which is only a mile or two away.

¹ Callan Abbey had its cloister (now vanished) on its south side; and at Askeaton the cloister is on the south, the transept on the north.

² There is something like this in Belaugh Church, Norfolk, where the piscina in the chancel has a second opening westwards towards the sedilia, which are under the arch of a window; in Kilconnell Abbey there is a stoup (by the west door) on a similar plan—opening both west and south.

³ In Ross and Kilconnell Abbeys a chapel, which appears to be a later addition, extends eastwards from the middle of the transept. To give this an opening into the transept would have involved the destruction of such a sacristy, which may have existed there previously.

TRANSEPT FROM WEST, MOYNE ABBEY (PP. 178, 180, 182 ETC.).

STONE SCREEN-WORK OFF TOWER, ENNIS
ABBEY (P. 181; AND SEE PL. XCVIII, 1).

PULPITUM, ROSS ABBEY (PP. 181, 182).

To face p. 180

ENDS OF TRANSEPTS, LIMERICK CATHEDRAL
(PP. 181, 189, 190).

TOMB IN KILCONNELL ABBEY (PP. 181 NOTE,
184 ETC., AND SEE PL. XCVII, 2).

CLOISTERS, ARDFERT ABBEY (PP. 182, 194).

CLOISTERS, JERPOINT ABBEY (PP. 182, 186, 187, 194, 195).

CHURCH ABOVE MELLIFONT ABBEY (PP. 181, 193).

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The arrangement of the altars under arches in the thickness of the wall is very common indeed.

The partiality for transepts was not confined to the friars' churches. On the south side of Limerick Cathedral, for instance, three additional ones were added, side by side, all no doubt built in this period (they are now included under a single roof, as if they had been an aisle),¹ and even in quite small churches of the time transepts are not unknown; the little church above Mellifont Abbey, which was no doubt the parish church of the tenants, has a comparatively large south transept, the east wall of which is continuous with the east wall of the church.

In the larger churches founded during this period the transept does not open out of the central tower but a little to the west of this. The arches which carry the east and west walls of the tower are frequently narrow (though the blind arches at the sides may be narrower still), and the choir seems to be pinched off, so to speak, from the rest of the church; in Ross Abbey it is wholly separated by a solid stone screen (the *pulpitum*); at Ennis there was standing under the tower, until quite lately, a stone screen, like a great uncusped Perpendicular window reaching to the roof (something very similar to this is occasionally found in England); the uncusped flowing tracery, of Flamboyant character, under the side arch of the tower is probably connected with this.² In Sligo Abbey there is a kind of fan-vaulting for supporting a screen or loft west of the tower. In other churches the corbels for fixing a wooden loft are often visible, noticeably in the Franciscan Abbey at Adare, and at Kilconnell, and in the Abbey Church on Devenish Island. A little west of this screen—in a monastic church—the wooden rood-screen would stand;³ at Moyne Abbey it seems to be clear where it stood, just as it is in Norwich Cathedral. In parish churches there was but one screen between nave and chancel—in England this was from the XIV century usually surmounted by a rood-loft; the stairs by which the rood-loft was reached remain at Killeen and Dunsany, but there would, as a rule, be merely wooden steps up to it. The two altars, one on each side of the entrance to the choir through the *pulpitum*, not unfrequently remain, as in Ross Abbey.

¹ See Dowd, *St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick*, p. 25.

² There is some tracery very similar in character over a tomb at the west end of Kilconnell Abbey.

There are somewhat similar screens at Great Bardfield and at Stebbing, both these are near together in Essex; see Bond, *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*, pp. 29-32.

³ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, pp. 179-181, and *Screens and Galleries in English Churches*.

The friars' churches of this period were one-storied, with wooden roofs¹ except under the towers (where the roof is groined, with chamfered ribs) and in such embryo transept-chapels as have been mentioned above. The whole is of moderate size, and economically designed for practical use. Buttresses are very sparingly used (though the walls not unfrequently 'batter'), and the general effect, both outside and inside, is very unlike that of an English XV century church.

Such is a general description of the form assumed by the great majority of the more important friars' churches built at this period. As regards other points in the architecture of this time, it will be best to take the style as a whole, since it is, for the most part, one and the same in churches and monasteries to whomever they belonged.

Both round and pointed arches may be used in the same building. At Ross and Moyne Abbeys the pointed form is practically confined to the windows and to the cloisters. We have already noticed the round arches under the tower at Creevelea or Dromahaire. At Callan, in the nave of the very interesting parish church, square-headed Perpendicular windows have round-headed recesses inside, and the head of the north doorway is also round. The late cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey have round-headed arches, and so, as we have seen, has a part of the cloisters at Muckross. Round arches over tombs, as at the Abbey of Dungarvan and the smaller church of Newtown Trim (where the mouldings mark them as of late date), are not uncommon. It is of course a very natural form to use, though it may well have been suggested by Irish Romanesque buildings, just as we have seen the billet ornament copied in later work. Segmental arches are used, for instance over window openings, as in the chancel of Quin Abbey, and over sedilia (or other recesses constructed like them) in the Franciscan Abbey at Adare. The four-centred arch is not very common in Ireland; the cloisters of Ardfert Abbey have arches of this character. An acutely-pointed ogee arch (the head formed by two stones leaning together) forms a doorway on the north side of Ardfert Cathedral. A rough arch of uncut stone continues to be used in the smaller churches; sometimes it is much flattened, as in the late aisle added to the church of Killiney, and on the inside of a doorway at Dulane (these may be of somewhat earlier date); sometimes it is almost or even quite flat, as, for instance, over windows in St. Patrick's, Wexford, and in the little church close to the abbey at Mellifont above the door and below the window at the west

¹ At Kilconnell Abbey instead of a weather-mould, thin stones or slates are fixed in the tower by one end, sloping and overlapping each other; much the same is the case over the south aisle of the nave at Gowran.

CHANCEL AND ARCHES INTO TRANSEPT OF FRANCISCAN ABBEY, ADARE (PP. 168, 169, 181, 184, 188).

SOUTH SIDE OF NAVE, AND SOUTH AISLE, CALLAN PARISH CHURCH (PP. 182 ETC., 189).

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end. Although sometimes attempts to wedge the stones together are evident, such arches shew strong faith in the mortar, which, as in the case of the vaulting used in the domestic buildings, has been largely justified. The same confidence is illustrated in the pillars carrying the arcade between the two halves of the double church of St. Patrick at Wexford, which are merely of rubble, plastered over.

In the case of smaller openings, instead of an arch a lintel may be used, either undisguised or masquerading—that is to say, cut into the shape of a semi-circular, flattened, or ogee arch; instances of both classes are to be found in the ruins of the 'College' at Slane (rebuilt in 1512),¹ and there is a round-headed doorway, with the head cut out of a single stone, leading into the XV century tower at Clare-Galway, also in the domestic buildings of Kilconnell Abbey. This is of course a very natural way of building—particularly in a country where, as a rule, stone of any size required is plentiful—and it is not confined to Ireland; its use in the XV and XVI centuries will make one hesitate to regard it as necessarily a mark of early date in the doorways of Round Towers.

As regards the ornamentation of arches, it is unusual, except in the small ones belonging to doorways, tombs, sedilia, and piscinas, for this to extend beyond chamfering, though an aisle arcade towards the east end of St. Audoen's, Dublin, is fully moulded; so (as we have seen) are the arches opening into the south transept chapels at Holy-cross, and the arch of the most easterly window in the choir of Askeaton Abbey has (on the inside) simple mouldings. In the arcades separating nave, aisle, and transept from each other it is common to have the arch in two orders; the outline of these with the piece of wall between two arches passes easily into an octagonal column—the plan is a cross inscribed in an octagon. Sometimes, however, for the inner order there is a chamfered rib (such as we have noticed in earlier Irish buildings) springing not from the capital, but from a pointed bracket or corbel, as in Callan Parish Church. On the south side of the nave there these corbels are attached to capitals which are octagonal below,

¹ It was refounded, for the Third Order of St. Francis in 1512, Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 281. Over the doorways of the smaller churches, as at Kilbehenny near Mitchelstown, there is occasionally a straight lintel undisguised; or sometimes, as in the north-west doorway opening into the aisle at Killiney, an arch is added on the outside for ornament. There is a similar combination at Askeaton and Muckcross. At Ballineanig, near Smerwick Harbour, there are windows covered by a straight lintel, such as we saw at Corcomroe and Boyle. It is often, of course, quite impossible to assign dates to these. The use of the lintel dates from the beginning of Irish stone-building, and seems never to have been given up.

to fit the pillars, but at the top have become square with chamfered corners, corresponding to the outline of the wall between two arches (excluding the rib); the same problem is somewhat differently worked out, but on the same general lines, in the opening to the transept in the Franciscan Abbey at Adare—a much more artistic arrangement than the use of round pillars and capitals, below a similar arch, in the same part of the church at Askeaton. The north side of the nave in Callan Church has ribs and corbels and arches similar to those on the south, but the pillars are much plainer; they are square, chamfered at the corners, and swell out at the top, to fit the wall which they carry, in what can hardly be called a capital. In the nave of Selsker Abbey, Wexford, the octagon of the pier is made to fit the square which it carries by projections like pointed corbels on the faces of the pier below the corners of the square capital—or rather impost; above the round piers of St. Patrick's Church, in the same town, the low capitals are so cut as to bear a very close resemblance to Romanesque cushion capitals; this may be imitation, or, by a natural coincidence, the problem of combining a circle with a square may have been solved in both cases in the same way.

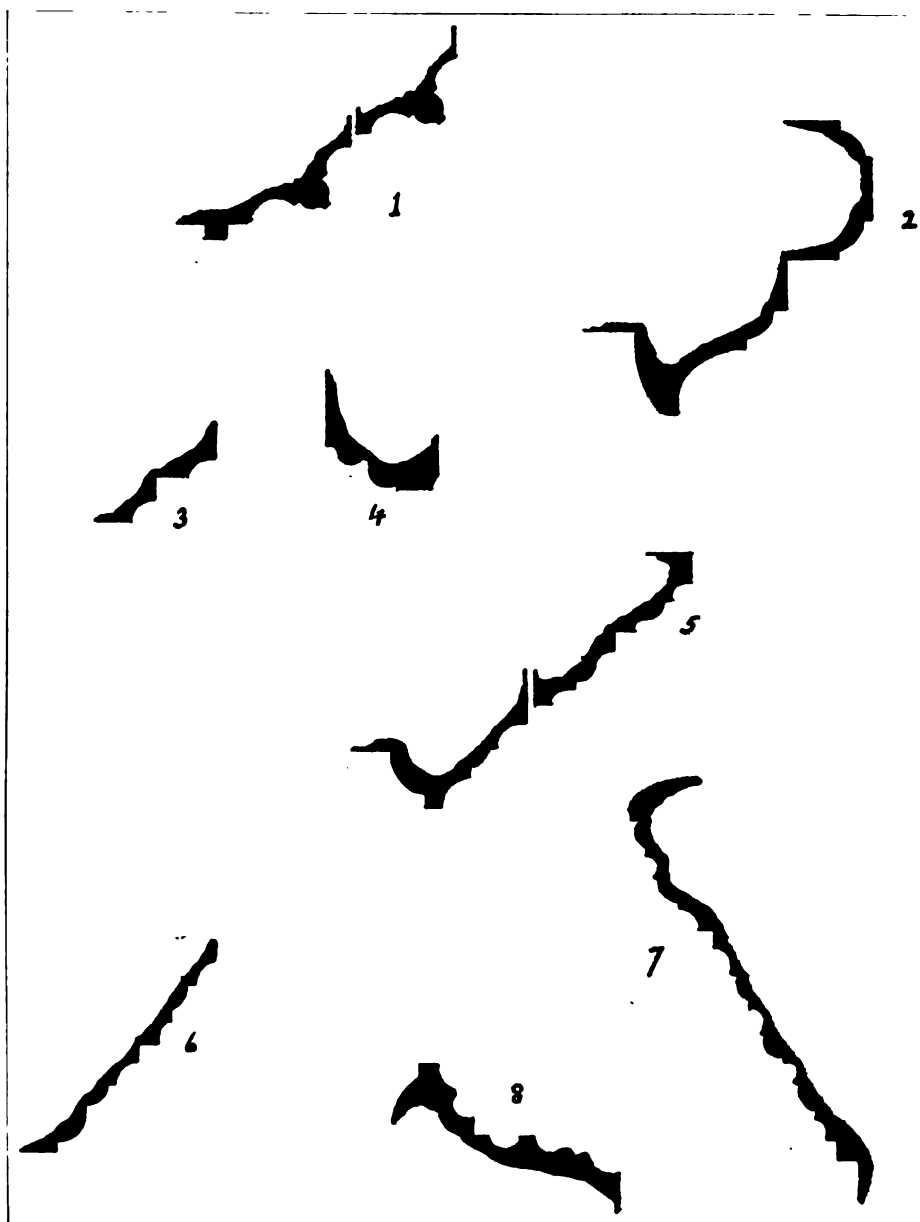
Some of the capitals used—specially upon the smaller pillars, or shafts—are a good deal like XV century English work, but with variations. Others are purely Irish, such as those just mentioned, the low capitals which are used at Moyne and Ross Abbeys, and the apologies for capitals between the transept and its aisle at Askeaton. In the north aisle of Roscommon Abbey the round pillars have low capitals of strange shape, bearing some resemblance to those in Iona Cathedral; at the entrance to the transept of Askeaton there is a similar example. In the cloisters of Bective Abbey the capitals (unlike the bases) are certainly modelled on work of the XIII century, but they vary from their model. As we have already noticed in connection with Holycross, capitals are, on the smaller pillars or shafts, not unfrequently omitted. As to bases, there is one form which is found in several varieties—for instance, in the cloisters of Ross Abbey, in arcades at Moyne and Roserk, and elsewhere—the general idea of which is a wide-spreading bell, with a roll or 'necking' above it; if somewhat clumsy, it gives an impression of strength. This base, and other kinds used in Ireland, as for instance some of those in the Sligo cloisters, are a good deal like the upper part of various English XV century bases, but the great height of these is not copied.

The mouldings—where these occur—vary greatly in character. Sometimes, as on the south doorway to the nave of Callan Parish

ARCADE OF NAVE,
SELSKER ABBEY
(p. 184).

ARCADE, ST. PATRICK'S,
WEXFORD (PP. 183, 184).

TRANSEPT (LOOKING NORTH-
WEST FROM NAVE), ASKEATON
ABBAY (PP. 180 NOTE, 184,
240).



LATE IRISH MOULDINGS (PP. 184, 185).

1. West doorway of Church, 'St. Ruadan's Abbey,' Lorrha (see also Pl. XCIV, 2).
2. Arch opening into South Transept Chapel next to Choir, Holycross Abbey (p. 174).
3. Doorway in Cloisters, Muckross Abbey. (The mouldings of the door into the Sacristy there are practically identical, also those of a piscina in the South Transept of the Franciscan Abbey, Adare.)
4. Arch inside of most easterly window on the South of Choir, Askeaton Abbey.
5. West doorway of Church, Muckross Abbey (p. 169).
6. Arcade in eastern part of St. Audoen's Church, Dublin.
7. Piscina in Transept Chapel, Holycross Abbey.
8. Recess in Franciscan Friary, Adare.

Church and a west doorway at Lorrha,¹ they rather closely resemble English 'Decorated' mouldings; sometimes, as in various instances in the Franciscan Church at Adare, they are obviously inspired by English mouldings of the XV century. A quarter-round, sunk, occurs very frequently; the 'double ogee' or 'bracket,' so common and so effective in late English mouldings, appears sometimes, as in recesses at Askeaton and Adare, but is not very common. Often, as on the dripstone of a window of Callan Parish Church—and elsewhere—the mouldings consist merely of a series of small segmental hollows, or small square steps are alternated with small rolls or hollows. Often (as round piscinas at Holycross) the members of a set of mouldings are almost too minute to produce their proper effect, even when they are near the ground, as these Irish mouldings generally are; we have already noticed a tendency to this 'defect of its qualities' in Irish ornamentation. But occasionally, as on the outside of the east window of the late chapel attached to the church on Saint's Island, Lough Ree, they consist almost exclusively of large shallow hollows, or 'casements.' On the north doorway of the Cathedral at Clonmacnois they are grouped in planes as if cut out of square receding orders, as they are in much earlier work; two twisted mouldings occur among them; these, like twisted shafts, are not uncommon in late Irish architecture. The whole elaborate doorway is distinctively Irish, and both in its mouldings and its delicate ornamental carving it is eminently successful, though the same could hardly be said of its figure-sculpture. An inscription over the doorway, still for the most part quite legible, states that it was built by Dean Odo, thus fixing it to a date shortly before 1461.²

It has already been noticed that groining is, as a rule, not found in late Irish churches, except under towers. But there are few rules without exceptions—not least in Irish architecture—and a conspicuous exception to this rule occurs in the Cathedral at Clonmacnois. This conservative establishment retained its group of small churches, while

¹ The mouldings of this doorway (facing the road and close to it; the church is, I believe, called St. Ruadan's Abbey) are of early XIV century character—they bear a close resemblance to a set at Guisborough Priory, which was being rebuilt about 1300 A.D. (See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 645, and p. 699, 7). But their date is fixed beyond question by the woman's head on the point of the arch, which wears a XV century head-dress. Mouldings much like this set occur elsewhere in Irish late Gothic work, for instance, in a doorway opening off the south transept at Holycross Abbey.

² "1459. Odo O'Molan (or Malone), pretended Dean of Clonmacnoise, is deprived by the Primate." Cotton, *Fasti Hibernici* (1849 ed.), iii, p. 144. (This is quoted from a register preserved at Armagh, and is, I am informed by the Librarians there, correctly given, except that the real date of the deprivation is 1460). "1461. The Dean O'Malone, the most learned man in all Ireland, died at Clonmacnoise . . ." (*Annals of the Four Masters*.)

its Cathedral, however much it was repaired and beautified, had for centuries been left without a constructional chancel. At some time in the XV century a chancel of two bays in three aisles was contrived by groining carried across the eastern part of the church, with a room above this, as in earlier Irish examples. The free-standing pillars have fallen, but those attached to the wall remain, with part of the groining, the ribs of which were merely chamfered, though the western face, that is, the chancel arches, were moulded. The general character of the work, and more particularly some triangular-headed panelling like that on the north doorway, mark it as late, and suggest that it may have been built by Dean Odo—though it may equally well have been due to someone else not very far removed in time.¹

Decorative carving, such as foliage, is in general, like mouldings, sparingly used—doubtless for the sake of economy; for such work takes time, and, whether workmen are paid in money or chiefly in food and clothes, the expense is much the same. Certain parts of a church (especially the sedilia, or a tomb) are often elaborately decorated; the ornament is concentrated, while most of the building is left plain, except perhaps for a bit of carving here and there, which often looks as if it were a labour of love—thrown in, so to speak, on the part of a workman; as we have before noticed, the Irish workman often shews no sense of any obligation to make his work symmetrical, to ornament one part in a building because he has ornamented the corresponding part. Thus, a most life-like owl is carved on a pier in Holycross Abbey, and one almost equally good under the tower at Kilconnell; in Clonfert Cathedral there are panels on the late piers at the entrance to the chancel, some of which contain representations of mermaids and sea-monsters in allusion to the travels of St. Brendan, the founder, while from the chancel arch stands out a man's head in a helmet, and from the arch and jamb single vine-leaves, of similar workmanship to the excellent corbels supported by figures and to other carving at the spring of the arch. (Heads rising out of arches or jambs and irregularly placed are not uncommon in Ireland; they are found, for instance, in the Abbey Church and the cloisters at Sligo, in the cloisters of Bective Abbey, and in a church on Saint's Island in Lough Ree). The sparing use of ornament allows it its full effect by contrast with the plain work; it also gives an impression of 'reticence,' avoiding that tendency of some late work in England to crowd every available part of a building with ornament, sometimes of inferior quality. The foliage used in Ireland at this period is of several kinds. There is a sort of imitation of a stiff XIII

¹ See Appendix Z.

SOUTH DOORWAY OF NAVE, CALLAN PARISH CHURCH
(pp. 184, 185, 187).

PILLAR OF NAVE ARCADE, ROSCOMMON ABBEY
(p. 184).

NORTH DOORWAY OF CATHEDRAL, CLONMACNOIS
(pp. 185, 186, 188).

WINDOW OF LATE CHAPEL, SAINT'S ISLAND,
LOUGH REE (p. 185).

CHANCEL OF CATHEDRAL, CLONMACNOIS
(PP. 185, 186, 237 ETC.).

OWL CARVED ON PIER, HOLYCROSS
ABBEY (P. 186).

SEDILIA AND FLATTENED EFFIGY, KILLEEN CHURCH
(P. 186 ETC.).

CHANCEL ARCH, CLONFERT CATHEDRAL, FROM
THE EAST (P. 186 ETC.).

century type (such as we saw at Cashel and elsewhere¹) in the late cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey. Some foliage rather closely resembles English work of the XIV and XV centuries, being to a marked degree 'bulbous,' with undulatory curves—for instance, the vine-leaves in Clonfert Cathedral (just mentioned) are of this character. But such close imitation is by no means universal; frequently the decoration thought out by the Irish artist (usually founded on the vine) is more or less original, as well as excellent both in style and execution. There are good specimens of this at Roserk and at Creevelea, or Dromahaire Abbey—a XVI century building—in both cases connected with pointed brackets under the tower. The double piscina at Roserk Abbey has an excellent piece of carving—four vine-leaves forming a square—to end off the point of one of the ribs in the groining of its roof, much like what we have noticed at Holycross; there is a Round Tower in relief on one of its shafts. The whole is a good example of the irregular way in which Irish ornamentation is so often inserted, and it must, I fear, be added that the two angels in spandrels on the outside illustrate the common inferiority of Irish figure-sculpture at this period.

Pointed brackets frequently end off into a bit of foliage. But still more distinctively Irish is the treatment of the hood-mould to a window or a doorway. This seems in some cases to be regarded as a canopy of stuff,² its ends tailing off into a knotted ribbon, which again develops into foliage, usually one or more vine-leaves, as on a tomb upon the outside of the chancel at Tuam, and at the sides of windows of the smaller church at Newtown Trim, and of a late chapel added to a church on Saint's Island, Lough Ree. There are also excellent examples on the south-west doorway and neighbouring window of Callan Parish Church; in the former of these (on one side) an angel's dress forms the starting-point of the foliage, while on the other, which is now imperfect, an animal³ holds the stem of the vine in his mouth.

The carving of animals and monsters—as on the cloisters at Jerpoint, and in specimens preserved in the north transept of Cashel Cathedral—if quaint, is often vigorous. But for Irish representations of men at this period there is unfortunately in general not much to be said, though it is fair to remember that statues of greater artistic merit may have been lost from brackets and niches. Some of the figures in relief belonging to the cloisters of Jerpoint Abbey are fairly

¹ See p. 162.

² The "linen-pattern" in panelling is perhaps analogous.

³ Said to be a 'talbot,' the crest of the Comerfords, a family of importance in the neighbourhood. Carrigan, *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, p. 297. If so, it is not a very good representation.

good; the same may be said of the head on Saint's Island, already referred to, and of some among the figures at the entrance to the chancel of Clonfert Cathedral. But in general such representations are very inferior to the merely decorative work. There are belonging to this period a good many examples—frequently representations of the Apostles—on tombs, in Kilkenny Cathedral,¹ for instance, and at Cashel and Jerpoint: the figures, which often seem to follow a certain marked type, are apt to be squat (as in XV century English sculpture), and the expression of the face reminds one of archaic Greek sculpture; it shews what is no doubt meant for a benevolent expression, but the desired result is missed, and the effect is undignified. It is curious that there is a similar contrast between the minute excellence of the decoration and the failure in representing the human face in the Book of Kells and other early Irish MSS.—a contrast which has its counterpart on many (at least) of the High Crosses—as there is in the XV century between the fine ornamentation of the north door at Clonmacnois and the faces of St. Dominic and St. Patrick above it. An image of St. Francis above an altar at the east end of the nave at Ennis shews these defects in an exaggerated form. And there is one rough type of the 'Rood with Mary and John,' of which specimens occur in Cashel Cathedral and on Holy Island in Lough Derg, which (though they are, of course, excellently meant) one does not care to reproduce; these may probably be of the XVI century, they are very much like the figures on the Gospel Shrine of St. Caillin of Fenagh (dated 1536) in the Dublin Museum. The Irish effigies (of various dates) are sometimes much flattened, as in examples at Ardfert Cathedral, at Jerpoint, in Killeen Church, and in the burial-ground of the Black Abbey at Kilkenny. Many of the figures at Iona shew this same peculiarity—there are some which are similar on the coverings of stone coffins in the cloisters at Westminster.

The pointed bracket has already been incidentally mentioned; it was impossible to avoid this, for it is a most common and characteristic feature of late Irish Gothic. As we have already seen, it is in all probability an adaptation from earlier work. Sometimes it is square at the top, or it may be chamfered into a greater number of faces. It is in very frequent use to terminate a vaulting-rib, a rib standing for the inner order of an arch, or the dripstone of a window. In a late aisle of the

¹ Some of these tombs (two are dated 1552) were made by William and Rory O'Tunney. (See Carrigan, *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, p. 158.) They were no doubt a family of sculptors. A tomb of similar character preserved in the rebuilt chancel at Gowran (about seven miles from Kilkenny), though obviously of the same school, is more successful in its representation of the Apostles.

TOMB IN GALWAY CHURCH (PP. 186, 190).

FONT, DUNSANY CHURCH (PP. 187, 188).

HIGH ALTAR, SLIGO ABBEY (PP. 186, 187).

To face p. 188

POINTED BRACKET WITH ORNAMENT, ROSEK
ABBEY (PP. 187, 188, 189).

POINTED BRACKET WITH ORNAMENT, DROMAHAIRE
ABBEY (PP. 187, 188, 189, 240).

LATE CARVING, NOW IN NORTH TRANSEPT, CASHEL CATHEDRAL (P. 187).

parish church of Fethard (Co. Tipperary) a pedestal of this kind curves out gracefully from the point, like fan-vaulting; there is a more elaborate example of this form now in the south transept of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, upon which has been placed a figure, probably of St. Patrick, with a finely-carved head, attributed to the XIV century. In the cloisters at Sligo a pointed bracket supports a pulpit, and at Carrick Beg, opposite Carrick-on-Suir, two such brackets, inside and outside, hold up a small tower built upon the north wall of the church.¹ The point of the bracket is often left plain, but in other cases it ends in a head of man or beast—under the tower at Clare-Galway,² of four brackets carrying groining ribs, two have foxes' heads, one a dog's head and one a man's: in the Dominican Friary at Athenry one ends in a sort of tassel; the point of the bracket may be covered by a shield, or, as in Kilconnell Abbey, supported by an angel; very frequently it runs off into twisted branches and foliage.

Irish windows of this period, besides lancets, may for the most part be divided into two classes, according as they are modelled more or less on English Perpendicular, or on windows, Irish or English, of the 'Decorated' style; Killeen Church shews both kinds, in forms hardly, if at all, distinguishable from English work. Irish architecture adopts freely the square-headed English window of the Perpendicular period, sometimes with one light, most frequently with two, and occasionally (as in the parish church at Trim) with three lights, these often have ogee heads. Frequently, as in Callan Parish Church, cusps are omitted; there is often pretty carving in the spandrels, for instance at Clonfert Cathedral and in the smaller church at Rahan, where the Romanesque windows were altered to this late form outside. So too at Disert Oengus and at Monaincha carved stones which have belonged to such late windows remain. In the larger windows the prevalent English style is, as a rule, not copied to the same extent. There are, indeed, windows in Ireland—such as the west window at Holycross, and the east window in the north aisle of Callan Parish Church, as well as at Killeen, just mentioned—where the tracery bears a more or less close resemblance to English Perpendicular; in the first-named instance cusps are omitted. Or sometimes the architect worked on the Perpendicular idea (just as he worked on 'Decorated' tracery), producing windows which would

¹ This church has been for the most part re-built, and this north wall appears to be the only old part in its original position, though there is some interesting work used in the present west end. (See Appendix N.) The tower may possibly be earlier than the XV century.

² This tower was built about A.D. 1433; see Appendix AA, under Quin Abbey.

not be found elsewhere than in Ireland, like that in one of the transepts on the south of Limerick Cathedral.

Much more usual among the pointed windows are those of a 'Decorated' type; the kind which has mullions intersecting in the head is especially common.¹ Some more or less resemble that kind of flowing tracery which is called Flamboyant, but it is not in general necessary to look for the origin of this outside the British Isles; there is a very considerable amount of Flamboyant tracery in England;² however, a tomb in the south transept of Galway Church has tracery of a rather specially foreign character, not surprising in what was a great trading town. The two very interesting windows in Portumna Abbey, one with distinctly Flamboyant tracery, the other with intersecting mullions curiously elaborated, no doubt belong to this period.³ There is one good form of window, of simple flowing tracery fully cusped, which occurs, with some variation, in several Irish Abbeys—at Askeaton, in the transept aisle of Kilconnell, in the south aisle of the Augustinian Abbey at Adare, and at Slane; there is a similar window introduced into the Norman apse terminating the north aisle of St. Mary's, Guildford, where its companion shews the beginnings of Perpendicular tracery, and these two are probably of approximately like date; it is quite common elsewhere in England. Whatever the type of tracery, it is in Ireland most commonly wholly or in part destitute of cusps. That this is not due to later loss—particularly to simplification with a view to ease in glazing—is indicated by the uncusped tracery carved on the panels of the font in the church at Galway, as well as on the mantelpiece of an old convent in the town.

Enough has perhaps been said of lancets in the last chapter; but the influence of the XIII century upon late Irish windows is not confined to these. Close to Ardfert Cathedral there is a small one-chambered chapel, known as *Teampull-na-Griffin*, which has a stone

¹ Even late English Gothic occasionally retains or returns to this form; it is used in windows obviously late at Belaugh, Norfolk, at Ruislip, Middlesex, and elsewhere. This kind of tracery originates (as is well known) in the XIII century; we have noticed it, combined with lancets, in St. John's Church, Kilkenny; see pp. 158, 159, 165.

² For instance, at Beverley; at Chipping Norton; at St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford; in Carlisle Cathedral; and, without cusps, on the wooden screen or *pulpitum* at Hexham—some parts of this look just as if they had been the model for the east window of Callan Abbey.

³ There was a chapel there belonging to the Cistercians of Dunbrody Abbey. This was transferred to the Dominicans—with the consent of Dunbrody—and extended. A Bull granting indulgences with a view to its extension was granted in 1426 (Archdall). There is a lancet window on the south side of the choir which may probably belong to the Cistercian chapel.

POINTED BRACKET AND STATUE, ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN
(PP. 189, 228).

CLARE ABBEY, NEAR ENNIS (NOT CLARE-GALWAY) (P. 190).

To face p. 190

WINDOW, PORTUMNA ABBEY
(P. 190).

WINDOW, PORTUMNA ABBEY
(P. 190).

WINDOW, ASKEATON ABBEY (PP. 190, 240).

'RESTORED' EAST END OF DOMINICAN FRIARY, CASHEL
(PP. 159, 172, 190).

with interlaced dragons and rope-work below (of earlier date) built into the window jamb near the east end of its north wall. This chapel has a plain triangular-headed piscina, which carries one back to the early windows of this shape (for instance, in *Teampull Breacain* and *Teampull Mac Duach*, on the Aran Islands), which we have seen used later on at Corcomroe; it is also like the upper window of the late 'sacristy' in Iona Cathedral and the cloister arcade of Oransay Priory.¹ The building of a detached chapel near the Cathedral (as tradition says, "for a 'morning chapel' for daily Mass"²) so late as the XV century is an interesting revival of the earlier Irish plan. For, whatever analogies the chapel may shew with more ancient Irish arrangements or building, it is in general unmistakably of late date. Its east window, however, of two trefoil-headed lights under a segmental arch, certainly shews imitation of XIII century work. Such imitation is evident in a different form in the very elaborate decoration of a window at the west end of the south aisle in Galway Church; this part (Our Lady's Chapel) was built about 1550. The tracery may be even later;³ it is Flamboyant in general plan, in part resembling a window in Prior Crauden's Chapel at Ely,⁴ but it has no cusps. On the window-arch outside there are many features not uncommon in Late Irish Gothic, the dripstone makes an angle which here looks as if it were meant to clear the tops of the shafts; the bases of these pass off through knots into vine leaves and grapes, and so do the ends of the dripstone, which on one side first develops into (or rests on) a grotesque head. But what is most noteworthy is that the shafts are banded, and besides this, though the shaft on one side has a capital, that on the other has nothing at the top but a final band, as in Christchurch Cathedral and Boyle Abbey—thus not only is XIII century work copied, but one peculiar variety of this. There is carving upon the dripstone and in the hollow moulding within it, and a little upon the jambs. The whole is an interesting and highly elaborated example of very late Irish decorative work.

XIII century influence is also apparent in a curious recess on the north side of the chancel of Kilfenora Cathedral, where the late Irish tracery with late Irish mouldings has 'soffit-cusps'⁵ (of an unusual kind);

¹ See MacGibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, illustration, III, p. 379.

There is a piscina (or aumbry) of this shape on the west side of the stone screen at Boxgrove Priory, between two round-headed doorways.

² O'Donoghue, *Brendaniana*, p. xxii.

³ See Appendix CC, note on Galway Church.

⁴ See illustration in Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 130.

⁵ That is, the cusps spring from the 'soffit' or innermost part of the arch, and not

so have the tracery of a singular but beautiful tomb in the chancel of Kilconnell Abbey and the double piscina in the chapel east of the transept there; such cusping would not, in England, occur after the early part of the XIV century.¹ In the cloisters of Bective Abbey, while in general XIII century work is imitated, it is plain that it is merely imitation; the bases, for instance, are quite impossible at the earlier date, and so is a part of the capitals; the cusping is of later character, and the foot-ornaments, which appear once more, are XV century vine leaves. The cloisters at Askeaton, which certainly belong to the XV century, have on two of the coupled shafts dog-tooth below the abaci, and the same ornament surrounds the west window of the XV century church at Killeen, just as it is used in late work at Iona.

The more important Irish towers of this period usually stand between nave and chancel, and are of two kinds, the broad tower of moderate height—of the Cistercian type, usually (at all events) an older tower rebuilt—and the tall, narrow, often slightly tapering tower, specially common in Franciscan churches, which looks as if its designer had had a Round Tower in his mind.² These high towers are usually oblong in plan, even narrower from east to west than they are from north to south; a certain moderate breadth is required for the opening to the chancel, but, as the transept does not open under the tower, there is no need for equal breadth on the north and south sides. Since the plan of these churches gives the tower no such natural abutments at the sides as it has in a cruciform church, small ones, like atrophied transepts, are sometimes supplied, with stone roofs, as in the Kilkenny tower of the XIV century previously mentioned. The glory of the more ornate towers is the battlements. The Irish battlements of this period are commonly in two steps at least, with the upper part sloping back as in a buttress. On the corners of church towers, they are often raised and elaborated, and they produce a varied, excellent, and striking effect.³ Instances of the high towers are to be found at Quin, Clare-

from the chamfer or mouldings sloping in to this. In the piscina of Taghmon Church (in Westmeath) the cusping follows neither of these types, but the whole is on one plane, like a piece of wood cut with a fret-saw. It is of course possible that this is unfinished work.

¹ See Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 509, and *A Glossary of Architecture*, i, pp. 157, 158, and ii, plate 70.

² Perhaps the carving of the Round Tower at Roserk (see p. 187) may be held to support this suggestion, as shewing that Round Towers still excited interest.

³ Fergusson (*History of Architecture*, ii, p. 457) says, that "such battlements, for instance, as those which crown the tower of Jerpoint Abbey, are identical with many found in the north of Italy; but very unlike anything either in England or Scotland, and give a foreign look to the whole building which is very striking."

RECESS AND FLATTENED EFFIGY IN KILFENORA CATHEDRAL
(PF. 184, 185, 191, 193; 188).

WINDOW AT WEST END OF SOUTH AISLE, GALWAY CHURCH
(PF. 191, 245, 246).

Galway, Kilconnell, and elsewhere; of the lower ones at Jerpoint, Fethard Parish Church, and on the Black Abbey at Kilkenny; the last mentioned was built within a few years of 1507.¹ These battlements are often carried all round the church as well; they have been added at (or about) this period to earlier churches, such as Jerpoint Abbey and the Cathedrals of Ardfert, Cashel, and Kildare. The last two of these (and, to some extent, the first) are, as we have seen, fortified churches, and such battlements were no doubt for use as well as for ornament; they are found also on castles, as at Dromineer on Lough Derg, and upon St. Lawrence's Gate at Drogheda. Whether the crow-stepped gable on the dignified south front of Ennis Abbey is an extension of these, or suggested from Scotland or the Low Countries, would perhaps be hard to determine with certainty. (Similar to this were the east and west gables of Waterford Cathedral.²) We have already noticed the fondness in Ireland for a stepped pattern, variously used at different periods, and with these battlements may be compared the curious use of steps (like square cusping) above the curved sides of a 'shouldered arch,' in windows of Askeaton and Lisfinny Castles and in a window on the north side of Limerick Cathedral. Possibly also the rectangular bend, near their termination, of dripstones over windows may have some connection with this tendency,³ and perhaps even the very curious shafts (bent at an obtuse angle to fit the outline of the capitals on the piers) which carry the continuous impost below the barrel vault in the cloisters at Askeaton; to the modern eye these suggest a rain-water pipe, though they would hardly have done so to contemporaries.

The frequent occurrence of groined vaults under the towers has already been noticed.

The smaller churches sometimes have at the west end towers of a plain utilitarian kind. But in such churches bell-cotes are very common; these are either gabled, or raised at each side (and perhaps also in the centre) into what are probably meant for battlements. They have arches, usually for one or two bells, but on the Collegiate Church at Howth there are three such arches, arranged in two stages. St. Patrick's,

¹ There is an inscription on the base of the north side of the chancel arch asking prayers for the souls of James Shorthals, Lord of Ballylorcan and Ballykyfe, and Katherine Whyte his wife, "who gave the builders of the tower their daily pay from the beginning to the end." In the cathedral there is a tomb of James Shorthals (described as above), "who had this tomb made in the year 1507," and of Katherine Whyte, his wife. See Carrigan, *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, pp. 181, 152.

² See Ware, *Bishops*, engraving after p. 524.

³ See Parker, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland* in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, new series, vol. xvii, pp. 545, 546 (Nov. 1864).

Wexford, has two bell-cotes—over the chancel arch of its southern half (or aisle), and at the west end of its northern half. Though both plain towers and bell-cotes were erected during this period, there is in many cases no sufficient evidence remaining to shew the date at which particular ones were built.

So far we have spoken mainly of the churches, although points in the architecture of the domestic buildings of monasteries and friaries have been incidentally mentioned; about the architecture of these something more must now be said. If vaulting is rare in the churches, this is by no means the case in the cloisters and in the ground floor rooms around them. These are constantly roofed with barrel vaulting, closely resembling that which was described in connection with 'St. Columba's House' at Kells—as a practical method of building it was satisfactory and durable, and seems never to have gone out of use. In the cloisters at Quin it is groined (without ribs) at the entrance to the church; the kitchen of Bective Abbey has a plain groined roof resting in the centre upon a pillar which is octagonal below, square at the top; this is probably of late date, the octagon is turned into a square somewhat in the same way as on the north side of the nave of Callan Parish Church. Where there is mortar or plaster on the under side of such roofs—of all periods—the marks of the wattles, used to complete the centering, are often plainly visible.

A large number of new cloisters were built (as well as older ones rebuilt) in this period. They are of the kind which we have noticed already; not a series of traceried openings like windows, but a low arcade; often the whole or a part of this has to carry an upper story. The supports are deep from front to back; often they are a series of oblong piers, but not unfrequently the central part of these (under the middle of the wall) is recessed, leaving pillars which it couples standing out in relief on the front and back faces of the pier. The arcade is usually more or less continuous, and reaches to the face of the wall towards the garth, but sometimes (as at Bective and Ardfert Abbeys) considerable portions of the wall come down to the ground, leaving openings between them like low, broad windows, in which, however, not tracery but arcading is set—standing back from the face of the wall; at Bective to the outline of the outer arch a hood-mould inside the cloisters corresponds. In the cloisters of Donegal Abbey strips of the outer face of the wall are brought down to the ground in front of the piers—the ornamental part of the pillars being, so to speak, inserted in the wall; on one side of a wide archway in the cloisters there are similar capitals, but on the outside. At Sligo the overhanging wall forms another 'order' in the arches, and over the pillars curves in to

TEAMPULL-NA-GRIFFIN, ARDFERT (PP. 100, 190, 191).

KILCONNELL ABBEY FROM THE NORTH-WEST
(PP. 182 NOTE, 190, 192, 193, 241).

TOMB IN KILCONNELL ABBEY (PP. 184, 185, 191, 192).

CASTLE AND CHURCH TOWER, FETHARD (PP. 192, 193).

To face p. 194

CLOISTERS, BECTIVE ABBEY (PP. 192, 194).

CLOISTERS, ASKEATON ABBEY (PP. 192, 193, 194, 240).

BELL-COTES, ST. PATRICK'S, WEXFORD (PP. 193, 194).

SOUTH FRONT OF TRANSEPT, ENNIS ABBEY
(PP. 190, 193).

To face p. 194

rest upon the capitals; the arrangement in the cloisters at Moyne is very similar. Sometimes there are buttresses; these occur at regular intervals in the cloisters of Quin Abbey.

Three sides of the cloisters in the Franciscan Abbey at Adare are abnormally simple, the arches resting upon plain chamfered supports of stone, but many of these cloisters have more or less plain pillars. At Quin Abbey, however, there are (as we have seen) twisted shafts at intervals, and in a part of the cloisters at Sligo not only somewhat similar twisted shafts (though here the upper parts of them are plain and octagonal, while some have twisted bases) but one pillar is carved with a chequer-pattern and on the soffit of the arch close by is an excellent piece of interlaced foliage, with a head on the pier below—these cloisters shew good artistic taste combined with the greatest irregularity in the placing of the ornament. The dog-tooth on two pairs of pillars in the cloisters at Askeaton has been already mentioned. At Jerpoint Abbey, besides much other carving, there are figures in relief—of men and of quaint animals—on many of the recesses between the shafts. The elaborate arcading at Bective Abbey, as we have seen, shews imitation of XIII century work; it is also most irregular in the placing of its ornament; some bases have foot-ornaments, some have not; some of the cusps only are carved on the inner side—with a leaf or a bird; a bishop's or abbot's head projects at the spring of one arch.

We noticed, first in 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, and in various later instances, the tendency in Ireland to combine and, so to speak, to mix church and habitation. This we have observed as still active at Holycross Abbey; at Dunbrody there are three stories over the chapels of the south transept, and a part of these at least has been remodelled at a late date; we have also noticed the 'restoration' of the castle at the west end of Cashel Cathedral. To this last-named instance there is a parallel, on a humbler scale, at Taghmon, a few miles from Mullingar. The church there has an oblong tower attached to its west end, opening only into the church, which is one-chambered, and has a stone roof, a barrel vault, above it. The tower contained seven rooms at least, and there is a *garde-robe* over the west end of the church, but besides these there has been an upper story of wooden construction in the church, under the stone roof, coming lower down at the west, but reaching to the east end—this is marked not only on the inside, but by the windows being kept very low down (the larger east window is obviously modern);¹ there is a good deal of ornament on these,

¹ The church is said to have been 'restored' in 1847. It may possibly be older than the XV century, but I could see no definite signs of this; if it is, it has been pretty completely re-cast. Over one of the windows is a large *Sheela-na-gig*, which is—or more

unmistakably of Irish XV century character. No doubt, in other churches the tower (where one existed) often formed at least a part of the priest's dwelling. In one of the churches at St. Mullins (which contains a window apparently of the XV century), there have been two stories at least in the chancel, and three in the nave—or western half.

Such a dwelling is also provided in connection with the two fortified churches of Killeen and Dunsany (Co. Meath), which are within two or three miles of each other and are closely related in design as well as near to one another in date. Each of these, besides being a parish church, has plainly acted also as chapel to the castle close by, much as we sometimes find in England a church standing in a park close to an old house of distinction, for instance at Fawsley, near Daventry. But where a castle was needed for defence, it was plainly convenient that the church, which was outside its walls, should also be able to take care of itself. The plan of each of these churches is oblong, and they are divided internally into nave and chancel; at three of the corners are turrets, of no practical use for defence except (in the case of one or more of them) for stairs to give access to the roof, upon which there is communication for its defenders all round the building. At Dunsany there is also a passage over the round chancel arch, the thick wall of the gable being built, in its upper part, in two halves (we have noticed somewhat similar means of communication outside Kildare Cathedral). At the fourth—the north-east—corner of either church there is a strong fortified tower, with a door opening into the church, and there is—or has at one time been—also a door leading into the churchyard in each case; the tower contains several rooms.¹ The bottom of the windows is still somewhat high up, though of course the churchyard has risen.

However, apart from any fortification, it is very common in Ireland for the whole or a part of the western half of a church to have been used as a dwelling, and though it is often by no means clear when such an arrangement was made, it was at least often continued in this period. In a church close to Wells, between Bagenalstown and Gowran, part of which, at least, is Romanesque, there is a complete division between the eastern and the western half, except for a window and a large

probably has been made—decent. The presence of these on churches and monasteries certainly throws a strange—and lurid—light on mediaeval ideas of decency, appropriateness, and reverence.

¹ The tower may only have been used by the priest in time of war, or he may have given up residing in it at a later date, since the description of "the manse house" at the two places given in *Ussher's Visitation* (in 1622) does not seem to fit the habitable part of either church. (*Ussher's Works*, edited by Elrington, i, pp. lxxii and lxxiv.)

doorway—with a stoup, the clear mark of the entrance to a church, not of a partition in it. The chapel in the churchyard at Adare has at its west end a seat in a window, about twelve feet up (like that at the east end of the upper story over the chancel at Holycross Abbey), probably of the XV century. This, with corbels and joist-holes, marks, beyond all doubt, that there was a habitation at the west end of the chapel.¹ And this is also indicated in many Irish churches; in Melaghlin's Church at Clonmacnois joist-holes extend from the west end along more than half of the church; at Kilbennan, near Tuam, at St. Fechin's, Ballysadare, at Drum, near Athlone, and in many other churches there has been a habitation at the west end. As a rule, it would not include the ground floor. And so it would correspond more or less to the arrangement in the chapels of many English mediaeval castles, where the eastern part reached to the roof, while the west end often had a room on the upper floor, commanding a view of the altar.² This plan is, of course, nothing more than the more complete enclosing of a western gallery, such as is common in castle chapels and existed at the west end of Quin Abbey, as a door and corbels shew; in Cashel Cathedral, as the door and pillars prove, a gallery was at some late date built over the whole of the nave.

Besides the examples in English castles, the provision of a living-room on an upper floor, for a priest or a hermit, is not uncommon in England; this is most often over the porch.³ But it is not nearly so common as in Ireland, and the room does not intrude in the same way into the church. We have seen above some examples of this arrangement which belong to the period which is being described; in other cases, of course, joist-holes do not carry a date with them. But the use which began before the XV century did not end at the Reformation. An account of the state of the diocese of Meath, probably about the year 1733, mentions that the 'curate' (in the old sense) of Taghmon "used to live in the steeple."⁴ About a century earlier, in the record of Bishop Ussher's Visitation of the same diocese, mention is made in two places of "a little castle at the west end of the church"; also of "a small stone house at the end of the church," and "a small castle at the east

¹ See Lady Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare*, p. 100.

² See Traill and Mann, *Social England*, illustrated edition, vol. ii, pp. 176, 177; Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages. From Richard II to Henry VIII*, Part I, p. 276, etc.

³ See Appendix R, Intermixture of Church and Dwelling.

⁴ He was "a weak man," who could not be trusted to spend his own money, but this does not appear to be connected with his using what must have been a very fairly convenient residence. See Healy, *History of the Diocese of Meath*, ii, p. 47.

end of the Chauncell." ¹ But it is time to return to our main subject, and briefly sum up the results reached.

From the characteristics of Irish architecture belonging to the XV and the first half of the XVI century (which I have tried to sketch) it appears that, while no definitely new style, like the Perpendicular in England, was then developed in Ireland, yet that from the beginning of this period the architects and workmen there began to use greater freedom in their building, not merely following (with minor variations), as before, the style prevailing in England. While their chief debt was to the 'Decorated' and Early English styles, they adopted what suited their taste in English XV century work, and continued or reproduced features belonging to much earlier times; they also solved architectural problems in their own way. There may also perhaps be traces of their owing some small debt to the Continent at this period, but this is not quite certain, and in any case the influence was slight. In general the conclusion as regards Late Irish Gothic appears to be this—however much of it may be traced to a source in the work of England and (possibly) of other countries, Ireland has put her stamp upon it; any complete church or monastery of this period, most of its parts and much of its ornament could not possibly, as they stand, occur elsewhere than in Ireland. Though the style must be called composite or eclectic, the buildings are unmistakably Irish.

We have seen¹ that the style, or styles, of building used in Scotland in the XV and early XVI centuries have causes behind them similar to those which produced Late Irish Gothic. There are certain resemblances which occur—though not with regularity—in the contemporary architecture of the two countries, the most noticeable of which are the use of lancet windows and of round arches, the omission of cusping in windows, as well as some forms of tracery commonly employed in both countries; in other, and very important, respects their architecture differs enormously. Influence of Scotland upon Ireland, or of Ireland upon Scotland, is by no means improbable, but the points of resemblance can, for the most part, be otherwise explained, and it is in general difficult or impossible to distinguish results of borrowing from coincidences due to similarity of ideas and conditions.

¹ Ussher, *Works*, edited by Elrington, vol. i, pp. cxvii, cxix, cxi, cvi.

² See pp. 171, 172.

CLOISTERS, DONEGAL ABBEY (P. 194).

CLOISTERS, SLIGO ABBEY (PP. 184, 194, 195).

To face p. 198

KITCHEN, BECTIVE ABBEY (P. 194).

KILLEEN CHURCH FROM THE SOUTH-EAST (P. 196).

TAGHMON CHURCH (PP. 195, 196).

DUNSANY CHURCH FROM THE NORTH-WEST (P. 196).

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CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

IT must of course be borne in mind that, owing to deliberate destruction, exposure to weather, and in some cases to what is known as 'restoration,' the ancient buildings of Ireland have a very different appearance from that which they presented in their perfect condition; of the arts which completed or adorned them but scanty traces remain. It is not only the moveable 'ornaments' that we miss—such as the processional crosses (for the staves of which, or of banners, those sockets were probably intended that remain at Callan Parish Church, Cashel Cathedral, and Holycross Abbey), or the shrines and altar furniture, of which there are some specimens in the Dublin Museum.

The old stained glass which filled the windows is now known almost exclusively from records of its existence, as at Ennis, or of its special excellence, as at Galway and Kilkenny, though some fragments from the Cathedral last named¹ are (as already mentioned) preserved in the Kilkenny Museum. A work published in 1744, in describing the ruined Cathedral at Downpatrick, says:

Large pieces of stained Glass and Window Lead have been lately turned up out of the Ruins of the Building; the Glass but rudely painted and scarce transparent, probably done in the Infancy of the Invention; but the Lead was like Pewter, and far beyond any used in the present Times. Several Cells have been also discovered behind the Abby, one whereof was floored with small painted Tiles, something like Mosaick Work, but the Figures coarse and ill done.²

In interpreting this account it is necessary to bear in mind the XVIII century point of view, as regards the criticism both of glass and tiles. There are many good encaustic pavement tiles, some of them forming an excellent continuous pattern, remaining at Mellifont; in the

¹ See Archdall, *Monasticon*, in account of the Franciscan Friary of Ennis; Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 236; Bishop Rothe, *De Ossoriensi Dioecesi*, as quoted by Carrigan, *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, p. 7; *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1896, p. 240, etc., paper by M. J. C. Buckley.

² *The Antient and Present State of the County of Down*, perhaps in part by Walter Harris.

Kilkenny Museum there are some curious plain tiles, more or less scale-shaped, but made to fit into each other, from Kells, in the same county, as well as stamped (or engraved) tiles, elaborate and good, from Kilkenny Cathedral; there are a very few specimens of similar ones in the Cathedral at Kildare. But by far the finest collection of pavement tiles in Ireland is at Christchurch, Dublin; these are both encaustic—in different colours—and stamped; more than sixty kinds are said to have been found; they are reproduced in the present floor, and the originals (or most of them) are laid down at the east end of the south choir-aisle. There is among them one that illustrates the humour of the Middle Ages (which comes out, for instance, in the carving of some ‘misereres’), it shews two dogs walking on their hind legs upon a pilgrimage, correctly equipped with pilgrim’s hat, scrip, and staff.¹

Of all the wood-work, including the screens, that there was in the churches very little indeed remains; the stalls, though not their canopies, are preserved in Limerick Cathedral; these are of the XV century or later, they are good work, though there is a certain sameness in the leaves carved on the ‘misereres.’ At St. Mary’s, Youghal, besides the oak roof of the nave, there is a relic of late carved wood-work, perhaps from a screen, to which an impossibly early date is locally assigned.

The outline drawings on the north side of the chancel at Abbey Knockmoy are still, to a large extent, preserved by the vaulting above them.² For the same reason Cormac’s Chapel at Cashel contains large traces of fresco painting—a painting in yellow, white, and red, under the arcading of the chancel on the south side is very plain, but there was more (in the same colours, with the addition of blue) over the chancel arch and in the altar-compartment, which can (or could) be made out in a specially favourable light.³ There are traces of colour upon plaster on the north side of the chancel in the Cathedral adjoining, and in the Chapter House of Abbey Knockmoy colour is

¹ There is one among the new tiles representing two birds, closely resembling those on the cross and the doorway at Devenish (see pp. 98, 99). I could find no parallel among the old tiles preserved there; it may have been copied from a broken tile, since all the new tiles are stated to be reproductions of specimens found on the spot. Ornamented tiles are also known belonging to St. Patrick’s, St. Mary’s Abbey, Dublin, Graiguenamanagh, Bective, and Jerpoint Abbeys, also to Newtown Trim, and Howth; see Frazer, *Early Pavement Tiles in Ireland*, in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1894 and 1895. A large proportion of the examples are (as is there noticed) from Cistercian Houses. See also Oldham, *Ancient Irish Pavement Tiles*.

² For the subjects, etc., see J. A. Glynn, *Knockmoy Abbey*, in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1904, p. 244, etc.

³ See A. Hill, *Monograph on Cormac’s Chapel*.

distinctly visible on one (at least) of the pillars. There were traces of painting on the wall of the Chapter House of Christchurch, Dublin, when it was cleared out, and in Kilkenny Cathedral some remains of frescoes were finally destroyed when the ugly irregular stonework in its walls was exposed—as if an anatomical figure with the skin removed to shew the muscles were the perfection of human beauty; this form of ‘restoration’ is especially inexcusable in Ireland, where so many old buildings, some of them dismantled for centuries, still shew unmistakably to the most casual observer that plaster is not modern whitewash, and that rough masonry was in the Middle Ages covered over on the inside—often on the outside as well. The chancel of Hore Abbey shews the remains of elaborate plaster patterns, and the same part of Quin Abbey has traces of a Crucifixion in this material; these were, no doubt, once painted. In the space between Cormac’s Chapel and the chancel of Cashel Cathedral (which must have been roofed over, probably for a vestry) there is a plant in a pot, of plaster in rather high relief. This, however, seems to belong to the late XVI or the XVII century.

Ecclesiastical building did not come to a sudden and abrupt end in Ireland, in the middle of the XVI century. Many parish churches remained in use, and were necessarily to a greater or less extent repaired.¹ The church at Ballinderry, Co. Antrim, was built after the middle of the XVII century.² And it is in particular necessary for Englishmen to bear in mind that the Irish monasteries were not all finally deserted in the reign of Henry VIII. Outside the Pale especially, the monks and friars often managed to keep or to regain a hold of them (as they did at Holycross),³ sometimes for a considerable time. In 1604 the priests “publicly rebuilt Churches for themselves, and erected or repaired Abbies and Monasteries in several Parts of the Kingdom, and particularly at *Multifernam* in the County of *Westmeath*, *Killconell* in the County of *Gallway*, *Rossariell* in the County of *Mayo*, *Buttivant*, *Kilkrea* and *Timoleague* in the County of *Cork*, *Quin* in the County of *Clare*, *Garinlogh* in *Desmond*, and in the cities of *Waterford* and *Kilkenny*, intending (says Mr. Sullivan) to restore the Splendor of Religion.”⁴ Muckross Abbey was repaired in 1626. There

¹ See e.g. Healy, *The History of the Diocese of Meath*, i, p. 201.

² There are illustrations of it in *The Irish Builder and Engineer*, Jubilee Number, 1909, p. 22.

³ *Triumphalia Chronologica Monasterii Sanctæ Crucis*, ed. by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., pp. lxii-lxiv, 76, 77, 218, 219.

⁴ Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, (1690 edition) part ii, p. 10.

is an inscription in the Cathedral at Clonmacnois stating that this was "restored" in 1647. In some cases the friaries were not completely given up till some time in the XVIII century, as at Quin and Ross and Clare-Galway and Sligo.¹

As a rule, in those troublous times, such occupation would involve only the renewal of the wooden roofs and other indispensable repairs—which partly account for the comparatively good preservation of many of these buildings. But the fact has to be borne in mind; occasionally what is certainly late may be still later than was supposed; and sometimes we find quite certain post-Reformation work in earlier buildings. For instance, the innermost order of the chancel arch in *Teamfull Finghin* in all probability dates from the same time as the "restoration" of the Cathedral, just mentioned; one, if not two, of the other churches there was more or less completely rebuilt about forty years later.² Moyne Abbey has a Renaissance west doorway. Such work is often unmistakable; but one can hardly help assigning a very late date also to the strange north window of the transept in Kells Priory (Co. Kilkenny), which, above greatly flattened arches in its lights, shews a sort of return to plate-tracery. Very late too is the curious east window of the church at Rathmelton. A somewhat strange Perpendicular window was put into the west end of St. Patrick's, probably in the latter part of the XVII century, in substitution for the older one, and a spire was added to the Cathedral about the middle of the XVIII century.³

The Cathedral of Derry, finished in 1633, is—for the time when it was built—rather good work, particularly its arcade, and it is certainly an interesting specimen of the Gothic of the time, though there appears to be nothing about it that is distinctively Irish. It was of far greater interest before the original short chancel, with a barrel-vault in the form of a four-centred arch, and a stilted chancel arch of the same kind springing from large corbels, was, five-and-twenty years ago, rebuilt, with very unnecessary alterations, though the east window appears to reproduce, nearly or precisely, the old tracery. The old low aisle windows have been made architecturally absurd by the removal of the galleries, and the groined roof of stone, with bosses, (which was said to

¹ At Sligo, Father Laurence Connellan "saw the necessity of vacating the crumbling Abbey," in 1760; Wood Martin, *History of Sligo*, iii, p. 130; he gives a very complete history of the Abbey. For the general state of things towards the end of the XVIII century see Archdall's introduction to the *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

² See Westropp, *A Description of the Ancient Buildings and Crosses at Clonmacnois*, in the *Journal R.S.A.I.*, Sept., 1907, p. 287.

³ See Bernard, *The Cathedral Church of St. Patrick*, pp. 12, 16, 21, 33.

be unsafe) has not been rebuilt. On the Collegiate Church at Galway a belfry was erected in 1590, and a 'steeple' in 1683; the western windows were more or less remodelled in 1578.¹

In the chancel of Askeaton Abbey, near the north-east corner, beyond the older sedilia, there are very considerable remains of an elaborate and interesting piece of work, a monument of the Stephenson family, dated 1646, in very late Gothic with a touch of the Renaissance—having a fairly good set of mouldings on the large arch above, and pretty, well-designed surface ornament; twisted shafts below continue the line of the older sedilia, within a twisted frame; ornamental buttresses bordered the part above, and one of these remains uninjured.

On the tombstones and in other carving the old designs and ornament maintained themselves for some time. The excellent seven-armed crosses which appear in the XV century were still carved late in the XVI and even in the following century, as at Fethard Abbey (Co. Tipperary); one in Holycross Abbey is dated 1681. In Galway Church a stone coffin-lid, dated 1580, bears a well-designed cross of interlaced work, running into a sort of acanthus carving below. On a slab built into the tower of the parish church at Kells (Co. Meath) the spaces left below the shield bearing the arms are filled up with knot-work; it appears to be of about the date last mentioned—interlaced patterns on stone have a long history in Ireland.

There has recently been much church-building in Ireland. Besides the 'restoration'—with various degrees of reverence for antiquity—of the ancient cathedrals, as well as of some abbeys, many new Roman Catholic churches have been erected, often at great expense. It is surprising that in a country where such efforts have been made to revive what is national, there has been, particularly in the larger churches, hardly any attempt to reproduce distinctly Irish architecture; the general appearance of these buildings, whether they are successful or not, is distinctly foreign; even the un-Irish apse is now quite common in Ireland. Romanesque architecture of the specially Irish form might be an unnecessarily expensive style to use effectively, and this and the vernacular Transitional architecture, excellent as it is, would give rather dark interiors; but the late composite style seems quite worthy of reproduction; and it is eminently practical. Any of these forms of building would need special study on the part of the architect, and, if unskilfully used, would perhaps be even a worse failure than false architecture usually is; but, in skilful hands, the last of these at all events

¹ Hardiman, *History of Galway*, pp. 243, 248 note, and see Appendix CC.

might, one would think, be used (perhaps with some adaptation of plan) to produce fine buildings characteristic of the country. In England we have known this phase of preference for foreign styles in church-building; now we have generally—and wisely—returned to a love for our own architecture.

As regards the preservation of the older churches, though a good deal has been done, very largely indeed through the efforts of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, very much yet remains to do. One cannot help wishing that more of the old ruined churches could be placed under the care of the Board of Works, which has done much to preserve the 'historic monuments' committed to it, though occasionally, from want of supervision, restorations carried out by it have been really more or less destructive. Some old ecclesiastical buildings are protected by religious communities; some by private owners. But a large number, many of which, apart from their sanctity, are of very considerable artistic or antiquarian interest, are still in danger, uncared for, and in a very forlorn condition, being treated like parts of a terribly ill-kept churchyard. The wish to be buried with one's fathers is a natural human feeling, and the desire to be laid in ground long hallowed, and, if possible, "near the Saints," is a very ancient Christian sentiment, but the result, as often seen in Ireland, is not consistent with reverence either for the church or for the dead. In other cases, where the churches are not now commonly used for burials, I have seen these consecrated, if ruined, buildings put to the use once thought appropriate for the House of Baal at Samaria. One cannot help thinking that a little instruction from those who have influence might do something to correct such irreverence, of both kinds, and to produce a public opinion which would make things better—and that such a reform would then find support not only among the more educated classes.

WINDOW IN NORTH TRANSEPT, KELLS PRIORY, CO. KILKENNY (P. 202).

NAVE OF DERRY CATHEDRAL FROM THE NORTH-WEST (P. 202).

GRAVE-SLABS, FETHARD ABBEY (PP. 78, 202).

EAST END OF RATHMELTON CHURCH (P. 202).

TOMB IN SOUTH-EAST CORNER OF CHANCEL, ASKEATON (P. 203).

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APPENDIX

A. STONE ALTARS IN EARLY CHURCHES

THE Oratory of Gallarus has (at the present time) no trace of an altar, and some doubt is perhaps thrown on the extreme antiquity of such stone altars as those in the Kilmalkedar Oratory and in the church on the Skelligs by the fact that the altars were in early times often of wood in Ireland, as well as in England and France. A synod held by John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, about 1186, "prohibits priests from celebrating Mass on a wooden table, according to the usage of Ireland;" this information comes from the archives of Christchurch, Dublin (Ware, *The History of the Bishops of Ireland*, edited by Harris, p. 316; see also *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i, p. 61, etc.).

But probably both kinds had been in use; at all events, in parts of the country where stone was more plentiful than wood it would have been natural to have stone altars at an earlier time. (Thus, at a later date, in Bective Abbey, where either material was available, there are in the kitchen and other parts of the domestic buildings stone tables, and there is a stone side-board at Muckross.) And in that case things would have been in Ireland just as they were in England, where St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester (1062-1095), demolished throughout his diocese "altaria lignea jam inde a priscis diebus in Anglia." (William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Angliae*, iii, 14, quoted in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, as above). Yet in England, in 633 or 634, when a church in Yorkshire—obviously of wood or wattles—was burnt, "evasit autem ignem altare, quia lapideum erat." (Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 14.)

The Synod at Dublin above referred to ordered also the provision of piscinas, and of fonts of stone or of wood lined with lead, which in each case were to be provided with a drain.

B. SOME OTHER CHURCHES, OR TRACES OF THEM, IN THE WEST OF THE DINGLE PENINSULA

I CANNOT pretend to have covered the ground in this district, but the following notes may perhaps be of some little interest—at least they supply certain cautions.

A mile or two to the west of Gallarus is "Temple-na-cloonagh." There are the remains of a square enclosure there which contained two buildings standing east and west. That to the north is almost completely ruined; the one to the south, which was nearly square, of about 16 feet (outside measurement), seems to have been dry-built; it has a doorway with inclined jambs. These are of cut stone, and since the walls rise straight up for about 6 feet, it appears to

belong to a somewhat later stage of architecture than the oratories described in the text. There are two tall gravestones west of it, and one to the north-west with a plain cross cut on it. "There is a place," said a farmer who lived close by, "where the cross was when the church was standing." This was no doubt the socket of a churchyard cross, but he could not find it, neither could I. The site is a very interesting one, though so far gone in ruin that it is not possible to interpret much with certainty. The other building was also nearly square, and slightly larger. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the farmer asked me what was the name of the ruin. This shews how any local tradition may perish, to be 'restored,' correctly or otherwise, by the wandering antiquarian, whose opinion will (if remembered) soon figure as the local tradition. However, in this case the name comes from the old Ordnance Survey, and is no doubt correct.

The Ordnance Map also marks a "Templebeg," about two miles west of Ventry, just outside a village called Kildurrihy. This must, one would think, be merely copied from the earlier survey, or "site of" would be added, as in similar cases where a church has nearly disappeared. There is nothing left of the church except part of a wall, built up and adapted as the boundary-wall of a field, and the hint of a corner; but besides this there is a slab marked with a wheel-cross (the ends of the cross not reaching beyond the circle) set up against a wall; it belonged no doubt to the graveyard of the church. There is a similar one in the churchyard of Templemanaghan, and there is the suggestion here of a site—perhaps of a hut (as near Templemanaghan, see p. 24), a few yards to the south-west of where the church stood. A rough road crosses part of the site of the church. The state of things illustrates the comment made by a person living on the spot, upon local treatment of these churches by the inhabitants, if left to themselves—"They mend their ditches with them."

The Ordnance Map is marked as "surveyed in 1841-42" and "revised in 1899." The revised version certainly does not express the present state of things, though it is *possible* that the road has been made since 1899.

C. RECTANGULAR CHANCELS IN ENGLAND

IT is not very easy—nor is it necessary—to estimate the respective force of the influences which made the east end of English churches rectangular, but there seems to be little doubt that the shape was due to a confluence of three causes—(1) the example of the Irish oratories or churches; (2) the constructional difficulty of attaching a wooden apse to the end of an oblong wooden building; and (3) the Cistercian example.

It is recognized as the fact, that "as in the smaller Anglo-Saxon, so in the smaller Norman churches of England, rectangular chancels are more common than apses." However, as to the cause first named, Mr. Francis Bond (*Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 212, etc.) would eliminate it altogether, on the ground that the knowledge of stone-building in Ireland in the VII century and later was inferior to that which was available in England (as shewn, for instance, in Wilfrid's work), and therefore not likely to influence our building, while he states (p. 218) that the earliest Celtic churches in Ireland were of stone, "perhaps because the Irish builders had not the tools for working wood."

The inferiority of the native Irish method of building in stone to the "Roman fashion" may be readily granted, but it is hardly to the point, since (as Mr. Bond seems later on to allow) the influence (if it existed) would be through the wooden churches. That the Irish were not fully accustomed from very early times to build in wood, or that they were unskilful in such building, is wholly contrary to all the evidence, a good deal of which has already been quoted or referred to; in this style of building they were probably quite on a level with the English. And when we consider how widespread their little churches, whether of wattle or of wood, must have been at the time when England was forming its first ecclesiastical traditions, while the stone churches with apses were very rare exceptions in the country, it seems most unlikely that the square-ended examples, of Irish origin, should have been without weight.

Then we come to the constructional element; the suggestion is that these early wooden churches would have had round east ends but for the difficulty of building and of roofing these. Now there would be no very serious difficulty in building the wall of the east end in a semi-circular form; very many Irish houses were round. The real constructional problem would be how to roof this, on account of the difficulty of tying back the rafters so as to prevent their spreading, which is quite easy to do in a rectangular or in a circular building. But it would be much easier to make such a roof secure (supposing that an apse had been desired) if props or 'spurs' were used outside these wooden buildings; and, as a matter of fact, one such is mentioned as attached to the outside of a little wooden church (near Bamborough) under the wall of which St. Aidan died. ("Tetenderunt ergo ei egrotanti tentorium ad occidentalem ecclesiae partem, ita ut ipsum tentorium parieti hereret ecclesiae. Unde factum est, ut adclinis *destinae*, quae extrinsecus ecclesiae pro munimine erat adposita, spiritum vitae exhalaret ultimum." All the church, except that prop only, was twice burnt, and then we read, "Unde tertio aedificata ibi ecclesia, destinam illam non, ut antea, *deforis in fulcimentum domus* adposuerunt," etc. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 17.) Of course, the constructional difficulty may have had its influence in Ireland in fixing the square end; but, since this was not insuperable, the shape was probably a matter of ecclesiastical custom as well, especially as the rude stone churches are also square-ended, though it would have been as easy (with bee-hive construction) to make one end round—as in some of the chapels in the Catacombs, for instance.

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to draw attention to the fact that in Ireland, in these early times, a chancel, whether round or square-ended, is not in question; separate constructional chancels seem to be altogether of later introduction.

D. THE DATE OF TOMGRANEY CHURCH AND OF SOME OTHERS

THE evidence as to the date of the oldest part of Tomgraney Church no doubt falls short of absolute proof; it is not *impossible* that the church should have been wholly rebuilt somewhat later. But it is altogether improbable, for (1) the character of the oldest part of the present building is such that most people would be inclined to assign it to a still earlier date, if this had not been out of the question; and (2) from the mention of Tomgraney Church, quoted in the

text, it was plainly, as built by O'Cillin, a work of importance for its time, and this makes it unlikely that it should have been rebuilt within the next 150 or 200 years, before the great change in the style—and the scale—of Irish church-building in the direction of Norman Romanesque set in.

'St. Columba's House' at Kells is (as by Miss Stokes in *Early Christian Art in Ireland*) often assigned to the year 807 or thereabouts, the date of "Constructio novae civitatis Columbae hi (in) Ceninnus" (*Annals of Ulster*); in 814, "Ceallach Abbas Iae, finita constructione templi Cenindsa reliquit principatum" (*Annals of Ulster*). But there is no proof that this particular building was erected just at that date, though from the obscurity of Kells before that time it is very unlikely to be earlier. In 920 AD., "Ecclesia lapidea de Cenannus confracta est a gentilibus, et plurimi martyres ibi facti sunt" (*Annals of Ulster*). This proves that there was at least one stone building at Kells early in the X century; the injury then done might well have been repaired so as to leave no trace, supposing 'St. Columba's House' to have been the building alluded to; but a self-contained monastery (or possibly, hermitage) is perhaps not very likely to have been described as in the quotation from the Annals.

The date of St. Caimin's Church, Iniscealtra, is discussed in the text on p. 118, etc.

E. RESTORATIONS AT GLENDALOUGH

AT Glendalough much of the work had fallen and has been set up again in recent years, as nearly as possible in its old place, about which, in the small Irish churches, there is, as a rule, less room for mistake. As regards the 'Priest's House,' there were drawings, made in 1778, to guide the work. Irish restoration of such ruins does not involve carving stones; where necessary ones have been lost, they are inserted plain; possibly the excellent example in restoration set by Graves in building up again the chancel arch of the Nuns' Church at Clonmacnois may have had something to do with this.

I have tried throughout this book, as far as possible (by consulting old pictures and in other ways) to see that nothing is cited which is due to 'restoration'—in the sense which the word often has to bear.

F. TEAMPULL FINGHIN AND ITS TOWER

THE question whether the Tower is contemporary with the church has been so much debated that something must be said on this point—and references given.

There was a church on the site in 1015 (see *Chronicum Scotorum* under the year 1013) and perhaps much earlier; but this does not prove the date of the present church or of the Tower (see p. 30, etc.).

Of course the nave and chancel of the present church *might* be of two quite different dates. But it appears to be clear that, in this instance, that is not the case. For the masonry in the two is similar—though that of the chancel is somewhat better executed—and the doorway of the nave (near the west end of the south side), in what remains of it, shews carving of chevron and bead which points to the same stage of architecture as appears in the Romanesque of the

chancel arch. And there is nothing to contradict these clear indications. Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to the principal question.

The main arguments in favour of the Tower being earlier—and originally detached, the church having been added at some later period—may be roughly summarized as follows:

- (1) "The courses of the masonry do not correspond."
- (2) "Neither are they regularly bonded into each other, but the masonry is *toothed* into that of the Tower, a process known to masons when erecting a new building in connection with an older one." (Brash).
- (3) Absence of a water-table, or weather-mould, at the junction, two grooves being merely cut in the Tower to admit the roofs of nave and chancel.
- (4) The rough corbelling-out (as it appears) of the Tower at the south-east corner of the nave, the part of the Tower below the squinch having (according to this theory) been hacked away, in order to give the church something like a corner, since the Tower, if left complete, would come almost up to the opening of the chancel arch, even cutting into the jamb—which could hardly have been tolerated.

In answer to these points it may be said (in the first place) that the lower courses of masonry do correspond.

As regards (2), Mr. Macalister's statement may be quoted. Speaking of the point at which the south wall of the nave joined the Tower, he says, "most unfortunately, the nave wall is destroyed, leaving a ragged rent down the tower wall. But an examination of the rent shows that there has here been the artificial bonding mentioned above [*i.e.*, such bonding as Brash describes]. It is not sufficiently clear to allow us to say definitely whether at this point the tower has been adapted to the nave, or the nave to the tower." (*The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, pp. 149, 150.)

The hacking of a groove for the roof to fit into (which is still more marked and clumsy on the eastern side of the Tower) is, in any case, thoroughly bad building—calculated to let as much water as possible into the joints of the masonry. This does seem somewhat more natural, or excusable, if the church was added to the Tower; it would have been more trouble to build stones with a weather-mould into the Tower after it was finished than in the process of building it, since in the former case a certain number of the stones already built in would have had to be removed. But it was quite possible in either case to supply such a weather-mould; and since Irish builders were not always careful or punctilious (many of those in England have been far from immaculate), there is no certainty that they would have been incapable of the somewhat greater crime against good building. Perhaps their best defence in either case might be that, after all, the Tower has stood for a good many centuries.

As a matter of fact, the masonry of the Tower below the squinch shews no sign of having been hacked away. The arches forming the squinch have suffered a little (probably, to a large extent at least, from the weather) like the neighbouring chancel arch; a curious sort of pilaster standing in the corner of the nave under the squinch and appearing partly to support the Tower has suffered a good deal more; but, since both of these are part of the supposed later alteration (made, it is said, when the church was added to the Tower), their mutilation, however caused, is quite outside the argument.

The following evidence seems to be of the very greatest importance:

The Rev. James Graves, describing the works carried on at Clonmacnois under his inspection for the preservation of the ancient monuments in the year 1865, says:

We laid bare the base course of the tower, and following the south wall of the body of the church from its junction with the tower, found the church and tower to have been here, as at other points, bonded into each other, and of masonry identically the same. (Letter in *The Gentleman's Magazine* of June 1865, vol. xviii, New Series.)

In corroboration of this, Mr. Macalister says:

Dr. Cochrane, who has examined the foundations of the structure, tells me that they are continuous, the nave and tower foundations being at the same depth and of precisely similar character (p. 150).

And the character of the architecture (as stated in the text) points to the Tower being of a date similar to that of the nave and chancel.

This will probably appear to be sufficient proof that the church and Tower are part of one and the same design, and that the church was not added, at a much later date, to a Tower previously existing. But this belief is further strengthened by the facts, (1) that the doorway is on the floor level, which is very rare indeed in detached Round Towers, and that there is no sign whatever of an original door at a higher level; (2) that the lower windows all look more or less to the south, away from the roofs of the church, apparently on the same principle as the arrangement of the windows in the round tower of St. Michael's, Lewes, mentioned in a note on p. 54.

It seems then to be clear that the theory of a Tower to which, long afterwards, a church was attached will not hold water, and that the Tower was *planned* at the same time as the church.

This is the main question connected with the church and Tower. But it may perhaps be interesting to go further, and try to discover which was actually completed first, since the straight joints at points where they join suggest (even if they do not prove) that they were not actually built *pari passu*. Mr. Macalister, who, in the work above quoted, has gone very carefully into the architectural history of the church, states that, where the walls of the church and the Tower meet, these joints are along the south wall of the chancel and the east wall of the nave, and concludes that, therefore, these walls are older than those of the Tower. Now, in order to ascertain this with any certainty, it is of course necessary to get inside the wall, so to speak, since, from the outside, a straight joint tells one little or nothing as to which wall is the older. It is to be presumed that by stones having been broken away or something similar he has been able to ascertain that the church walls have had their line preserved—the masonry of the Tower being adapted to this. However, he also states that “on the chancel side of the wall between nave and chancel . . . inside . . . the Tower, a straight joint, *along the face of the church wall*, is to be seen.” This is likely to be more unmistakable, and would indicate clearly that the wall between nave and chancel was there already when the Tower was built against it and upon it, a part of this wall (which projected into the Tower) being cut away. Further, Mr. Macalister says of the squinch that “the masonry of the nave walls has been cut to admit the springers of the arch.” (I am sorry that I cannot myself speak from recollec-

tion to these particular facts, and I have not been able to examine the building again since his book appeared).

Another feature which seems to point to the same conclusion is the way in which the south wall of the chancel has been corbelled out over the doorway of the Tower, to carry a part of the Tower above. The most natural reason for this seems to be that the builders, finding the wall ready to hand, saved trouble and masons' work by building a part of the Tower upon it—in a way very familiar to the Irish builder.

It appears therefore:

(1) That the nave and chancel are one building, or at least of approximately the same date.

(2) That the Tower was designed as part of this, but

(3) That it is at least probable that the bulk of it was not built till after the completion of (at all events) the walls of the church. As to the length of time—in years or months—by which the Tower (as completed) is younger than the church, there are no means of estimating this with any accuracy. But the interval cannot have been long, for the two appear clearly to belong to the same period of architecture.

For the discussions on the subject see Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 271, 416, etc.; Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ii, 46; Brash, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 69, etc.; Parker, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*, in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1864, pp. 149, etc., and Graves' letter in the 1865 volume, already quoted; *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxxvii, September, 1907, *A Description of the ancient Buildings and Crosses at Clonmacnois, King's County*, by Thomas Johnson Westropp, M.R.I.A., p. 297, etc.; *Clonmacnois, King's County*, extract from the seventy-fifth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, 1906-1907, p. 6; and *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, by R. A. Stewart Macalister, F.S.A., p. 145, etc.

Further, two points in the Tower should be noticed:

(1) In the lower part of it (below the offsets—for floors or to facilitate the building) there is a round string-course reaching half-way round the Tower only on the one side; at some distance above there is a similar one on the other side—obviously for resting or fixing ladders.

(2) The windows have rebates for shutters—a few years ago part of the iron fastenings for these was in position. This arrangement is (to say the least) very common in the latter part of the XII century.

f. NOTE ON THE ROUND TOWER AT KILDARE

As to the doorway being later than the Tower in general, Petrie puts this aside as a "gratuitous assumption" (*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 207, etc.), while Brash gives his decided opinion as an architect, that it "has been inserted in the tower at a later period" (*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, pp. 35, 36).

It has certainly been patched and repaired; but, since its Romanesque forms and ornament (including the mouldings above, plain and otherwise) extend right

to the inside of the wall, its insertion would have involved a somewhat extensive alteration. A window also, on the floor above, with a sort of small pediment of its own, is, as it stands, certainly not earlier than the Romanesque period. The stones which form the pediment above the doorway are not part of the walls, but are fixed into a groove cut in the stones; this looks as if the pediment were an afterthought, but may be only slovenly building; the case is much the same as with the grooves in the tower of *Teampull Finghin*. The red sandstone of which the doorway is built reaches to the top of the pediment, and there are very few stones of it to be seen elsewhere (at all events low down) in the rest of the Tower.

One might be disposed to conclude that the doorway was, if not exactly an insertion, part of a somewhat extensive rebuilding or remodelling of the Tower. However, the lowest 7 or 8 feet of this is in more or less rectangular blocks, coursed with fair regularity, rather rough ashlar, in striking contrast to the irregular 'spawled' masonry above; the builders may have made a point of giving a firm foundation to the Tower—or the change of masonry may be conjecturally explained in some other way; but in any case this lower masonry, which does not look like early work, cannot be later than the rest of the Tower; so that, taking all the facts into consideration, one is inclined to think that possibly, after all, no part of the Tower is of earlier date than the doorway.

I have not been able to find any mention of this Tower in the Annals.

G. IRISH MSS. AND THE HISTORY OF IRISH ORNAMENT

SOME persons maintain that Irish ornamentation is, for the most part, derived from England; plainly, MSS. with ornament of the kind usually associated with Ireland and certainly much used by Irish artists will, if an early date can be proved for them, have an important bearing on the decision of this question.

We will take first the Lindisfarne Gospels (now in the British Museum), since there is more definite evidence for their date than for that of any other MS. claiming to be early. At the end of the MS. is an account of its production stating that

Eadfrith, bishop of the Church of Lindisfarne, first wrote this book for God and St. Cuthbert and all the saints generally that are in the island; and Ethilwald, bishop of the people of Lindisfarne, pressed (or, bound) and made it firm (or, covered it) on the outside, as he well knew how to do, and Billfrith, the hermit, worked the ornaments of metal that are on it outside . . . and Aldred, an unworthy and most miserable priest, with God's help and St. Cuthbert's, glossed it in English. . . . Eadfrith, Oethilwald, Billfrith, Aldred made and adorned this gospel-book for God and Cuthbert.

Now as to the meaning of all this there is no doubt (at all events, none affecting the date), except as to the meaning of the words used of Ethilwald—"hit vta giðryde 7 gibelde"—the question, of course, being whether the ornamentation could have been added by him. 'Giðryde' appears almost certainly to refer to the binding. The meaning of 'gibelde' is doubtful; but 'vta' (outside) probably goes with both verbs, and seems to shew clearly that they do not refer to the writing and illumination. (For their meaning see Bosworth and Toller,

Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, *geþryccan*, *gebéldan*; Skeat, *The Gospel of St. John, Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions*, Preface, pp. viii, ix; Warner, *Illuminated MSS.* in the British Museum, Introduction; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, article "Eadfrith," by James Raine; *Baedae Opera Historica*, edited by Plummer, ii, pp. 297, 298.)

Eadfrith was Bishop of Lindisfarne from A.D. 698 to 721, but the MS. need not have been written after he became bishop (Ethilwald was bishop from 724 to 740 A.D.). Dr. Warner says:

If his [Aldred's] note is to be trusted, the MS. must have been written in the monastery at Lindisfarne or Holy Island, off the coast of Northumbria, about A.D. 700, and possibly even before the death of St. Cuthbert in A.D. 687.

As to the trustworthiness of Aldred, writing in the X century, it is plain that the history of such a book, with its own special adventures, as the "*Liber S. Cuthberti qui demersus est in mare*" (marks of which misfortune it still retains; see Symeon of Durham, *History of the Church of Durham*, ii, 12), was very unlikely to be forgotten in a monastic community which, in spite of its wanderings, was continuous. Nor is there anything suspicious in its being attributed to Eadfrith, as if (for instance) it had been assigned to St. Cuthbert, as the Book of Durrow was said to be the work of St. Columb.

It is therefore not surprising that "its date, as fixed by Aldred's authority, appears to be accepted" (Warner, *Illuminated MSS.*, p. ii.). As to the Byzantine connection of its miniatures, which were probably copied from a MS. left by Hadrian, Abbot of Nisita near Naples, who travelled with Theodore to Lindisfarne, the account given in the same introduction is most interesting, but can hardly be quoted here, though of course this tends to confirm the date assigned.

Of the Book of Kells, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson says that "it does not appear to be older than the latter part of the seventh century" (*Greek and Latin Palæography*, p. 240). Others would place it considerably later than this time (see e.g. *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Anderson, i, p. lxxix). And though this may, partly at all events, be due to a sort of craze for placing works of art after the Carolingian revival (contrary, in some cases, to probability and to evidence), it cannot be said that a date in the VII century is at all universally accepted for this splendid book. The same must be said of the Book of Durrow, though some think that it "probably dates from the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century" (Rev. Stanford F. H. Robinson, *Celtic Illuminative Art*, p. xx).

Having thus briefly noticed what can be established regarding the age of these MSS., we may now look at the theory that Irish art is mainly derived from England, as it is stated (for instance) in an interesting, though somewhat imaginative, article on the Bewcastle Cross by Mr. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., published in the *Northern Counties Magazine* of October, 1900, especially on pp. 39 and 41:

All their art (he says) is a spoiled imitation of English work.

And again, later on:

There is no Irish interlacing earlier than this in MSS. and otherwise. The Lindisfarne Gospels were illuminated by English, not Irish scribes. It is true that the notion of

interlacing was very soon taken up in Ireland; but here we intercept it on its journey outward from the Continent, in the act of being exported.

As to the sentence first quoted, it certainly tends greatly to detract from the weight of its author's opinion, as of one who can have but a very partial acquaintance with Irish art. It is quite true that the Irish representations of human (and, to a less degree, of animal and plant) forms are not very successful, though in this case their indebtedness to English art cannot be shewn to have been large, but to speak of such work as the ornament in the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells or on the Crosses at Ahenny (to take a few examples only) as "spoiled" would, if anyone knew them at first hand, shew a unique taste—or the want of it.

But as regards the theory that the ornament usually associated with Ireland was first developed in England, it is not so easy definitely to disprove this, however improbable it may be. Of course if anyone has convinced himself that the Book of Durrow, with its elaborate interlacements, belongs to the early part of the VII century, such ornament cannot be derived from the artists of about 670 A.D., but that date for the MS. is, as we have seen, by no means universally accepted. We are then, it appears, reduced to examining the probabilities of the case.

In the first place, there appears to be nothing improbable in the view that the ornamentation—derived from various sources, as stated in the text—was developed in Irish monasteries into the forms in which we find it in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the other MSS. named above. Even if there are now few—or no—specimens extant of its earlier or less complete forms, there is nothing strange in this; considering the loss that has necessarily taken place through Danish invasions, ordinary warfare, and the dissolution of monasteries, it is plain that (as is also indicated by other evidence) the existing MSS. must be a very small percentage of those which formerly existed. There would also, of course, be a strong tendency to preserve the best, rather than the imperfect specimens of the art.

Further, the fact that "the native hand" in English MSS. before the Norman Conquest was derived from Irish handwriting (see Maunde Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, pp. 244, etc.), certainly fits well with the derivation of their ornament also from Ireland.

As to the 'divergent spiral' or 'trumpet-pattern,' which (though not used in English stone-carving) is employed with such an excellent effect in English MSS., even if some other way is conceivable by which this Celtic ornament can have made its way into English art, its derivation from Ireland is much the most easy and probable.

But the difficulty of believing that what is generally supposed to be the Irish ornamentation of MSS. was invented in England is not confined to the 'trumpet-pattern.' The interlacement in the Lindisfarne Gospels, though in all probability ultimately derived from classical work, shews (so far as can be judged, see pp. 71, 72) a very great advance upon it, and the same is true to a considerable (though less) extent of the key-patterns. Further, this interlacement is not only of rows of dots, of lines or bands, but is formed with birds and monsters. And the ornamentation is worked out, and its various parts combined, in an assured and by no means in an experimental style of art, appearing to point to an ancestry extending at all events over three or four generations of artists.

Now if this ornamentation is to be credited to English artists in the north as its inventors (and Northumbria appears clearly to have been its first home in England), we can hardly place the impulse to it—independently of Irish influence—before 666 A.D., when Wilfrid returned to England with his troop of artists, (see Appendix I). The Lindisfarne Gospels were, as we have seen, according to good evidence written and illuminated at all events not later than 721. Those who have seen the MS. just mentioned, or facsimiles of it, will be able to judge for themselves whether such an interval of time leaves room for the development of such a complex and finished style of ornament.

There is a similar argument to be derived from the Bewcastle Cross, which was made within a few years (at all events) of 670 A.D. (see Appendix I). On the south side of this are two panels of knot-work (such as are found, for instance, in the Lindisfarne Gospels), and the lower one of these, which is by no means of the simplest kind, appears most unlikely to have come so early in the supposed process of development by English artists.

On the whole it appears that this theory is incredible, and that there is no ground for questioning the opinion on the ornamentation stated by Dr. Warner, when he says that:

As applied particularly to the decoration of MSS., there is no reason to doubt that the style was developed in the monasteries of Ireland before the conversion of the English to Christianity, and that it was carried to Northumbria in the VII century by Scoto-Irish missionaries from Iona. (*The Illuminated MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. i. and ii.)

g. THE "CUINDLES" SLAB, AND 'CELTIC' CROSSES

The name is exceedingly rare. The stone bears a ringed Latin cross with the arms passing through the ring, and much cut away (or hollowed out) at their intersection; the stem is pointed at the bottom; there is no further elaboration. As to this stone, Mr. Macalister says:

Next we come to *Cuindles*, abbot 720. Though we here have a much rarer name to deal with, I am sceptical about the identification of this dignitary with the Cuindless of slab No. 108. The rude, archaic-looking lettering is perhaps in favour of the identification; but the date seems to be too early for the full development of the wheel-cross as we find it on this stone. (*The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, pp. 102, 103.)

However, Mr. Macalister—on what appear to be, in general, good grounds—attributes most of the slabs (of small or moderate size) which bear a Greek Cross in a frame to the period 750-800 A.D. (p. 103, etc.); and some of these have the intersection of the arms much elaborated, in different ways, but so as to produce a 'Celtic' Cross. If this estimate of date is correct, it will bring 'Celtic' Crosses, elaborated, near to the date assigned to the 'Cuindles' stone.

But, besides this, Mr. Macalister considers (pp. 55, 61) that the crosses with a circular expansion in the centre are probably derived from the 'Celtic' cross; and they are at least as old as the Lindisfarne Gospels—very possibly older (see above, p. 76). And if this form was fully elaborated by the early part of the VIII century (at all events), a similar date seems not too early for a form which appears to be less far removed from the quite simple 'Celtic' cross—probably the parent of both.

On these grounds it appears to be the reverse of improbable that the 'Celtic' cross had been fully developed at a tolerably early date, even if it was still commonly used—in a similar form—in the IX century and later, though of course the identification of a name standing by itself cannot be absolutely certain.

The point at the bottom of the cross (omitted in Petrie's drawing) suggests that it is copied from a wooden cross, meant to be fixed in the ground. And a good many of the elaborations of the 'Celtic' cross look as if they had been first worked out in wood, as may well have been the case.

For some reason, the absolutely plain 'Celtic' cross is particularly awkward and unpleasing, and cutting it away at the intersection is an obvious and a great improvement—though this is also done when there is no ring.

H. THE CROSS-SLAB FROM FAHAN, IN THE DINGLE PENINSULA

THERE is a curious sort of analogy between the cross or cross-slab at Fahan Mura and the very rude monumental stone, formerly built into the doorway of a dry-built stone house at the Fahan near Dingle, and now in the Dublin Museum (see p. 11). This bears a cross on each side, some inartistic interlaced and spiral work, what are evidently meant for human figures, and an Ogam inscription. Its carving is of course earlier than the building of the house, but the date of the latter is not easy to fix. It might be taken for a sort of first attempt at sculpture out of which later developments arose, but, besides the fact that there is much better carving on pre-Christian pillar-stones, it is obviously a degraded imitation of better work. For a full account of it, see Macalister in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxxi, part vii, p. 317.

I. THE DATE OF CERTAIN NORTHUMBRIAN CROSSES

SINCE the date of the Bewcastle Cross in particular has been questioned (for the most part, at all events, as it appears, by persons who had not seen it), and since the point appears to be of some importance as bearing on the development of the Irish cross, it will be well to give the evidence for the date of this and certain other Northumbrian crosses—and of some pieces of sculpture besides, which more or less correspond with them—more fully than could be conveniently done in the text.

First, as to the Cross at Bewcastle, which is not very far from Brampton, close to the Scotch border.

The inscriptions, in runic letters, as given by Professor Stephens in *The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England*, i, p. 398, etc., from sketches, photographs, and rubbings sent by the Rev. John Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle, are, on the west side:

gessus
kristtus

Jesus
Christ

And lower down:

†þissigbecn
þunsetton

This sign of victory
slender set up

hwætrédwoth	Hwætréd, Wothgar,
garolwfwol	Olwfwolthu
þuafalcfri	after (in memory of) Alcfrith,
þueankyning ¹	once king,
eacoswiung	and son of Oswi.
†gebidhe	Pray for his soul's great sin (?) or,
osinnasowhula (?)	Pray for his sinful soul (?)
On the south side, the writing being certainly <i>now</i> much defaced:	
†frumangear	In the first year
kyninges	of the king
ricesþæes [or, þæs]	of this kingdom
ecgfriþu.	Ecgfrith.
On the north side, near the bottom:	
kynnburug	Cynnburg
Higher up on that side:	
kyneswiþa	Cyneswith
And higher up still:	
myrcnakyng	King of the Mercians
wulfhere	Wulfhere.
And at the top:	
†††gessus	

There is another bit, most of which is undecipherable.

As to these names, one finds from Bede and other authorities that Alcfrith—son of Oswy, king of Northumbria—married Cynnburg, daughter of Penda, king of Mercia; that he was under-king of Deira, attended the Synod of Whitby, and supported the Roman or Continental side. In the same year, 664, Alcfrith sent St. Wilfrid, who was a special friend of his, to Paris to be consecrated bishop—the Orders derived from Iona being (no doubt unjustly) suspected. After this, Alcfrith rebelled against his father Oswy, and disappears from history, doubtless either dead or in exile. Wulfhere was son of Penda; brother of Cyneswith and of Cynnburg the wife of Alcfrith.

Ecgfrith succeeded his father Oswy in 670, or more probably in 671. But it appears to be impossible to decide whether the date on the cross is that of Alcfrith's death or of the erection of the monument to him. If the inscription on the south side is to be read closely in connection with the inscription on the west, it must be the latter; on the other hand the general analogy of memorials of the dead is in favour of the former.

Hwætréd and the other two mentioned with him may be the followers or friends of Alcfrith who saw to the cross being set up, probably on behalf of his wife, his sister-in-law and his brother-in-law; or they may have been the workmen who executed the cross—extraordinarily apt pupils of their teachers from the south—just as the artist's name is mentioned on a cross at Tuam.

¹ For "y" Stephens gives "ü"—there is little or no difference in Old English. Sweet (*The Oldest English Texts*, p. 124) gives the "y." On p. 125 he says of the cross, "whose date is not quite certain"; of this those who have read the facts about it will be able to judge.

Now, considering the knowledge of runic inscriptions which Professor George Stephens possessed, the materials which he had at his disposal for ascertaining the letters accurately, and the certainty with which the names can be identified, and the words—in spite of the very old Northumbrian English—can be interpreted, so far as these are important for the date (the last line of the main inscription seems, at all events, to contain some sort of prayer for Alcfrith's soul, like the *oroit do* of Irish tombstones); in view of all this, there ought, one would have thought, to be no further question as to the date of the cross, within a very few years, even without the corroboration of it from other monuments. I wished, however, to see for myself whether the inscription was now legible—whether the letters could still be certainly identified.

In the main inscription (on the west side) they can nearly all be quite easily made out, though the last letter in some of the lines is less clear than the rest, and the latter part of the last line becomes more or less obscure. All the letters of Alcfrith's name are particularly clear, and can be easily read in a photograph which I took of the west side. On the north side, where a church has afforded some shelter, probably during almost or quite the whole time since the cross was erected, the letters of the name of Cynnburug are also plain. For the other inscriptions I cannot personally speak. Some parts of them are now quite indistinct, though there seems no reason for doubting the evidence of the rubbings and photographs as used by Professor Stephens. But it is plain that the names Alcfrith, Oswy, and Cynnburg, or any two of them, would be sufficient to fix the date within a few years.

The words *Alcfrithu*, *Oswiung*, and *Cynnburug*, and the character of the cross as a memorial to the first-named, are really beyond doubt. And this is enough to fix it to within a few years of A.D. 670.

For the history, see Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 14, 21, 25, 28, 30; iv, 5; v, 19, 24, and notes in Mr. Plummer's edition; the *Saxon Chronicle* (E) for the year 656 (in English of the XII century) and Hunt, *The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest*, pp. 96, 97, 105, 108-110, 121, 122, 143.

As regards the cross lost from the top, a slip of paper was found in Camden's own copy of *Britannia*:—"I received this morning a ston from my Lord of Arundel sent him from my Lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bucastle." (Gough's *Life of Camden*, quoted by Stephens, i, p. 398, from Maughan's *Memoir*). Camden died in 1623.

The doubts, on *a priori* grounds, of Professor Bugge and Dr. Sophus Müller as to the date of this and the Ruthwell Cross are sufficiently dealt with by Professor Stephens in vol. iii of the work already quoted (this part was published in 1884) on p. 430, etc., and to this the reader who wants more proof must be referred. Here Professor Stephens makes the sane remark, "Sometimes the object must date the ornamentation." It may be added that, if it is startling to find such excellent figure-carving as that upon this cross and on that at Ruthwell executed in the VII century, it is simply incredible that it should have occurred, in Northumbria, "about 1000 A.D.", even if the other monuments of the same school and character did not equally forbid this supposition—as well as the contrast of those which are certainly of comparatively late date.

Southern or eastern influence is shewn unmistakably on the cross, in the excellent vine-patterns upon its north and south sides (some of which closely

resemble those on Acca's Cross, in the Cathedral Library at Durham), and in the vine reaching in spirals from bottom to top of its east side, with birds and strange animals feeding on the grapes, which has its counterpart, more or less, in carvings of similar design in Central Syria (none of which are later than the VII century), in Southern France and in Italy, and more particularly in the ivory plaque belonging to a chair at Ravenna—a cast of which is in the South Kensington Museum—believed to be that of Maximian and to belong to the VI century; here the vine (running in spirals) is freer—and in general more naturalistically treated—than on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses. On other parts of the same chair panels occur of scenes from the life of Joseph and of our Lord, (for instance, the healing of the man born blind) such as might have suggested the panels on the Ruthwell Cross which contain figures representing scenes, in our Lord's life and otherwise. (On sarcophagi also panels of figure-subjects occur, or the various scenes may be separated by the arcading, but very frequently there is no division between them.) The vine-patterns reach back to those in earlier Christian (and in pagan) art—for instance, to those on the roof of the most ancient part of the cemetery of Domitilla, of the I century A.D., on the roof of an *arcosolium* in the cemetery of St. Praetextatus, of the II century, as well as on what is believed to be the sarcophagus of Ataulphus at Milan, who died A.D. 415 (which has already been referred to in connection with the Book of Kells) and on other sarcophagi. (See *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, illustrations to articles *Fresco, Vine, Chalice*, and vol. ii, p. 1870.) The vines on the south side of the Bewcastle Cross are work of quite surprising excellence, though one may notice that there is a certain grotesqueness in some of the animals on the east side, and that their tails intertwine with the foliage.

The same classical influence is shewn in the figure-carving. On the west side are three figures; above is St. John with the eagle; below this is our Lord, standing upon the heads of two swine. This figure is well-proportioned, and, after all the weathering of centuries, it is wonderfully dignified; the rather stiff drapery has a distinct suggestion of late classical art, as, for instance, on consular diptychs. The figure at the bottom holding a falcon (no doubt representing Alcfrith) looks like a worn late Roman bas-relief. Of this sculpture it has been said:

The draperies have the full foldings and massive modelling of late classic design, and generally the technique shews a practised chisel, as well as the assured methods of a finished school in figure and decorative design. We do not reach such technical attainment again in English work until close upon the 13th century.—(*Mediaeval Figure Sculpture in England*, by Edward S. Prior and Arthur Gardner, part i, in *The Architectural Review*, July, 1902.)

High up on the south side, within the vine-pattern, is a sun-dial.

On the north side is some chequer-work, such as is used to ornament a pottery bowl, of the time of Constantine, which is in the British Museum. And on the north and south sides are various bits of very Irish and excellent knot-work, which, like the rest of the ornament, are cut off in panels (as is so frequently the case in Irish MSS.) from other pieces of ornamentation.

About the knot-work, at a date towards the end of the VII century, in a part of England converted not very long before chiefly by Irishmen from Iona,

there is no difficulty (see Appendix G), just as we can place this cross itself—in its general idea—as a glorified descendant of the pillar-stone.

As to the source of the classical influence, Wilfrid (who had some years before been in Gaul and at Rome) returned from his consecration in Gaul in 666 A.D.; in his journey northwards he had in his train masons (*caementarios*) and other workmen: "having brought with him workmen (or artists, *artificibus*) from beyond the sea . . . he adorned the church of Hexham in many fashions with paintings and carvings." Or again:

Ipsos etiam[parietes] et capitella columpnarum quibus sustentatur, et arcum sanctuarii, hystoriis, et imaginibus, et *variis caelaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus* et picturarum, et colorum grata varietate mirabilique decore decoravit.—(Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, and Prior Richard, in Raine's *Priory of Hexham*, i, pp. 175 and 12.)

This was between 671 and 678.

Between the same dates, Benedict Biscop brought masons from Gaul; he had already visited Rome four times, and may have brought back workmen from Italy. Nor would it be at all incredible that Theodore, the Greek monk from Tarsus, who reached England from Rome before the middle of 669, should have brought Greek workmen with him; we must remember that much of Italy, governed from Ravenna, was still connected with the empire whose capital was Constantinople, which until some thirty or forty years before had included Central Syria. (For a link between Naples and the North of England, through Hadrian who had been Abbot of Nisita, near Naples, and came to England to help Theodore, see Appendix G.)

There are thus several ways, certain or possible, in which foreign workmen came, or could have come, to England; as regards the Bewcastle Cross in particular, Wilfrid's best workmen, or their aptest pupils, would no doubt be available to set up a memorial for one who had been his friend. The difficulty of explanation lies rather in the special excellence of the work, since there appears to be little sculpture that is at all contemporary in France or in Italy (see Cattaneo) which at all attains the same standard as the work in Northern England (even the work in Central Syria hardly reaches that level), and it appears probable that workmen of unusual excellence—probably Greeks—were engaged, such as those who had produced the chair of Maximian, most likely in the previous century. There is, however, some work at St. Clement's, Rome, attributed to the early part of the VI century, as well as in Southern France on a sarcophagus probably of a slightly later date, which, in decorative or in figure-carving, shews more or less similar ability. Whether the Bewcastle Cross was executed by such foreign workmen themselves or by extraordinarily apt English pupils can perhaps not be determined with certainty. All general probability is of course in favour of the former alternative; against it are perhaps the names of Hwætred and the rest, and the knot-work. But in the case of those sculptures, which, though their classical connection is well marked, shew a certain inferiority and are probably of somewhat later date, native workmanship becomes either probable or certain.

The proof of this special late-classical influence does not by any means rest solely on the Bewcastle Cross. There is part of a bas-relief at Hexham, and another fragment, possibly of the same slab, found there, which is now in the Cathedral Library at Durham—these are not unlike some carving on a tomb near Rome. There is also part of a wall-slab with a vine-pattern within a panel

(preserved at Durham) which was found on or near the site of Wilfrid's church. This agrees with the record that its walls were adorned with bas-reliefs; it was said to have no equal north of the Alps. We should also perhaps notice a stone at Hexham which no doubt formed part of it (probably of a string-course), which shews both rope-moulding and beads; both may be paralleled from Central Syria; in the Cathedral Library at Durham there is a stone from Hexham partly ornamented with chequer-work. There is also part of a cross-shaft in the north porch of the church at Jarrow (Benedict Biscop's foundation, dedicated 684 or 685 A.D.), and part of a cross at St. Andrew's, Auckland, which shew the same classical connection in different degrees (the former being the better work); the latter has upon it that square form of S (like a reversed Z), which is used on the Ruthwell Cross, and in the Lindisfarne Gospels, as well as on St. Cuthbert's coffin. The MS. is not later than the early part of the VIII century (see Appendix G), and the coffin belongs to the year 698.

Closely similar to the naturalistic vine-patterns which adorn the north and south faces of the Bewcastle Cross (not to the vine with animals feeding on it) are those which ornament a splendid cross preserved at Durham, the various fragments of which have been recovered so as to make it nearly complete. Though the inscribed side has been for the most part cut away, it is almost certain that it was set up in memory of Acca, Bishop of Hexham, and friend of Wilfrid—who died in 740 A.D. One part or division of the ornament is composed almost wholly of vine-tendrils interlacing, with few leaves and no grapes, somewhat like the treatment of the vine on some Irish crosses, which, however, mostly have animals or birds in the openings.

The account of Acca's burial given by Symeon of Durham (*Historia Regum*, § 36, in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*, II, p. 38, or Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, I, p. 35) is as follows:

Corpus vero ejus ad orientalem plagam, extra parietem ecclesiae Haugustaldensis, quam xxiv annis pontificali rexit dignitate, sepultum est. Duaeque cruces lapideae, *mirabili caelatura decoratae*, posita sunt, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus. In quarum una, quae scilicet ad caput est, literis insculptum est, quod in eodem loco sepultus sit."

As to the cross, Canon Greenwell says:

The whole of the other face was once filled by an inscription, of which very little remains. The commencing letter is certainly A, and at the end of the line are some remains which may be resolved into Ω, in which case the inscription would begin with Alpha and Omega, not an unlikely heading. The name ACCA has, however, been suggested, and some traces of the last three letters of the name have been thought to be still visible. . . . The sculpture is much decayed upon every side, showing that the cross stood many centuries before it was thrown down and broken up. The date of the extension of the choir of the abbey church eastwards is given as 1349 by a deed of the same year. As one portion of the cross was found underneath this building, and the cross is said by Symeon to have been placed at the east end of the church beyond the wall, it is by no means unlikely that the cross stood there until 1349, though it may appear improbable it should have been destroyed at a time when the memory of Acca must have been still fresh and his name had in reverence.

(As to this, I should be disinclined to allow that there were any bounds to the vandalism of the Middle Ages.) Canon Greenwell adds:

There can be no doubt that this is the cross which once stood at the head of the

grave of Acca, Bishop of Hexham, another cross being placed at its foot. It has the remains of an inscription upon it, corresponding in that respect to what Symeon of Durham in the 'Historia Regum' says was the case with the cross set up in memory of Acca.

(For the above see Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 1, 2; *Historia Abbatum*, § 5; *Historia Abbatum Auctore Anonymo*, § 7; Plummer, notes to Bede, pp. 202, 317, 318, 358-360, and quotations there; Aedde, or Eddius, *Life of Wilfrid*, c. 14; the article by Messrs. Prior and Gardner, already quoted; *Anglian Sculptured Stones*, pp. 45-47, 53-59, 63-69, and 133, etc.; the *Victoria History of the County of Durham*, vol. i, pp. 217, 224, and 233, etc.; Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, i, pp. 12, 14, 175; Cattaneo, *Architecture in Italy*, p. 42; Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages Chrétiens de la Gaule*, especially Plate XIX, and notes on it; De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, plates III, 127; Parker, *Tombs near Rome*, plate XVII, fig. 2).

We may now proceed to say something of the Cross at Ruthwell. After standing for so many centuries, it was thrown down as an "Idolatrious Monument," probably in or about the year 1642, but was taken into the church, and there the greater part of it lay, in three pieces, for more than a hundred and fifty years. At the beginning of last century parts of what had been missing from it were found in a grave, a new cross-beam was supplied below the old top-stone, and it was set up in the Manse garden. Since it was found to be suffering from exposure, in 1887 an apse was built on to the north side of the church to shelter it; on account of its great height, the lower part of it is sunk within a pit. The part of the church where it stands has been made a sort of 'ritual' east-end, it seems like a gigantic altar-cross, and, after its chequered career, is now reverently cared for.

It is, like the Bewcastle Cross, a glorified pillar-stone, surmounted by a cross, but this is the only Celtic thing about it—it has no knot-work; on two sides, east and west (by the compass, but north and south from a 'ritual' point of view), there is a vine running in spirals, with birds and beasts feeding on the grapes. But on the north and south sides are figures, or groups of figures, in panels. Around the figures texts or descriptions in Latin are written, and are mostly still legible. The middle part of each of these faces is occupied by a large figure of our Lord, with a cruciform nimbus; on the south 'the woman that was a sinner' is at His feet (the quotation written over being from St. Luke, vii, 37, 38). His right hand is raised in blessing, and He has a fold of His dress thrown over the left hand, in which He holds a book—the nimbus and the attitude being precisely identical with those of Christ, and of some of the angels, as represented on St. Cuthbert's coffin.¹ On the north side His feet are on the heads of two swine—just as at Bewcastle—but with the inscription: IHS. XPS. JUDEX AEQUITATIS. BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERUNT IN DESERTO SALVATOREM MUNDI; this is derived from an Apocryphal Gospel; it gives the sense of chapters xvii-xix, *Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium* (Tischendorf's edition). Other subjects which are certain (fixed, for the most

¹ In an illustration in the St. Gall Gospels (see Romilly Allen, *Christian Symbolism*, pp. 171, 172), our Lord in Glory—and the figures below—are in similar attitudes. But certainly neither of the English examples can have been copied from these, though the reverse process is possible.

part, by the writing over them or by parts of it still legible, though this is usually not necessary for their identification) are the Flight into Egypt; the Annunciation; the Salutation of St. Mary and St. Elizabeth; Christ healing the man born blind; St. John with the eagle (on the top stone), as at Bewcastle; the Crucifixion (on the lowest part of the shaft), this is much defaced, but what is no doubt the sun can be made out on the left of our Lord's head, there was probably the moon on the other side; these occupy similar positions in the Crucifixion in the MS. of Rabula, of 586 A.D. There is also a representation of how 'St. Paul and St. Antony, the Hermits, broke the loaf in the wilderness'; a raven had been accustomed to bring St. Paul half a loaf daily; when St. Antony came to see him, the bird brought him a whole loaf. (This subject is, on the Nigg Cross in Scotland—a cast of which is in the Dublin Museum—exalted into what seems to be a joint Consecration, such as was the custom, at Iona and elsewhere, in the Mass—it may possibly carry this suggestion on the Ruthwell Cross and on the Irish crosses upon which it occurs). There is also just below the cross-beam an archer shooting upwards, and upon the top stone (on the other side) a bird, no doubt the Dove, representing the Holy Spirit. The carving is deep and extraordinarily good, but none of the figures are quite equal to the Christ on the Bewcastle Cross.

As to the inscriptions, those over and around the figure-subjects are in Latin letters, some of which, of more or less unusual forms, are almost or quite identical with letters found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (A, C, M, N, O, S), or with those used on St. Cuthbert's coffin (A, N, S), or with those remaining on his portable altar (some of these forms, however, are also used at a later date). At the sides of the spiral vines with animals, on the edges of the panel, are written in runes, in old Northumbrian English, lines in which the Cross—personified—speaks and tells of the Crucifixion; verses very nearly identical occur as part of a fine poem in West-Saxon English discovered at Vercelli in 1832. Of the Northumbrian verses Mr. Sweet says: "All that the language teaches us is that the inscription cannot well be later than the middle of the VIII century." As to the words "Caedmon me fawed," in runes on the top stone, whether or not they are correctly read, and whether they refer to the author of the poem or to the sculptor of the cross, are points the determination of which is unnecessary for fixing its approximate date. (See the Cross itself, or the cast in the Dublin Museum; the cast of the Nigg Cross in the same place; the *Lindisfarne Gospels* in the British Museum; *Celtic Illuminative Art*, plates VII, VIII; Stephens' *Runic Monuments*; *The Ruthwell Cross*, by Rev. James McFarlan; *Anglian Sculptured Stones*, pp. 133, etc.; Calverley, *Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the Diocese of Carlisle*; *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i, p. 515; Raine, *St. Cuthbert*, plate VI; St. Jerome's *Life of St. Paul, the First Hermit*, cc. 10, 11, in Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus completus*, xxiii, p. 25; Grein and Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, ii, part 1, p. 111, etc.; Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 128, etc.; Adamnan, *Life of St. Columba*, i, 44, and Reeves' note; Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, p. 125).

The result of all this is as follows:

(1) We find, chiefly in what was Northumbria, carving of figures and ornament whose excellence is surprising and whose character links them on to late classical art.

(2) Records referring to the latter part of the VII century shew how this

art was brought to England. In particular they point to its connection with St. Wilfrid, and this is borne out by stones belonging to his church at Hexham.

(3) According to sound evidence, the Bewcastle Cross, by the names in its inscription, dates from within a few years of 670; St. Cuthbert's coffin from 698; the Lindisfarne Gospels from not later than between 687 and 721 A.D.; the Acca Cross (probably or certainly) from about 740; and the language of the verses on the Ruthwell Cross from a time not later than the middle of the VIII century; if, however, these verses could be shewn to be of later date,¹ this would not prove that the rest of the Cross was also later; the runes might quite possibly have been cut later on the margins left, though, if the figure-panels had been carved after the inscription, it is very unlikely that the verses should have been left to read as continuously as they do.

(4) Now this carved work is closely connected together not only by its general style and excellence but by special links (noticed above) which join the various examples to each other and to the Lindisfarne Gospels. Thus the proof of approximate date is cumulative, and is enormously strong—even if parts of it could be removed, the remainder would be amply sufficient.

The following additional facts relating to similar carving in England may be of interest.

There is part of another cross at Hexham, at the Spital, or Hospital of St. Giles, having upon one side vine-leaves and grapes, which in general arrangement and in execution are a good deal like those on Acca's Cross. Another side has the vine in spirals, and yet another has a Crucifixion, our Lord with nimbus, St. Mary and St. John on each side, no soldiers with sponge or spear (see *A History of Northumberland*, by Allen B. Hinds, iii, part I, p. 311). Further examples of this school of art, and of its decadence in the foliage and figure-carving, may be studied in *The Anglian Stones*, or in the article by Messrs. Prior and Gardner already mentioned; it has a long history. By far the largest number of examples occur in the old kingdom of Northumbria (including southern Scotland), or near its borders; for instance, the crosses at Sandbach in Cheshire, or that at Eyam in Derbyshire. But such work (of various periods) is not confined to Northumbria and its borders. There are, for instance, at Cringleford, near Norwich, several pieces of stone shewing interlaced work of a rough kind (one at least appears to be part of a grave-slab), and some similar work is stated to have been found at Peterborough Cathedral in 1888. At Britford, close to Salisbury, under the arch on the north side of the nave which seems to have opened into the transept of the Saxon Church, there is, carved on its eastern jamb, vine-pattern, which is obviously connected with the Northern carving already described and with classical work; it is somewhat conventional, but vigorous and good. This is upon upright slabs at each side of the jamb, and between these are two square stones, raised, which are ornamented respectively with interlaced foliage and with knot-work; on a similar square stone upon the jamb opposite is also a piece of knot-work; the general effect produced by the raised stones (which are also used, plain, on the 'soffit' or under side of the arch itself) and by the sunk panels between them is something like classical 'coffering' (*lacunar* or *laquearia*). The Northern connection is also evident in parts of two

¹ See Romilly Allen and Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, part iii, pp. 515, 516.

crosses preserved at Amesbury, about ten miles north of Salisbury; the half of the head of a small one belongs to an ordinary Northern type, without a ring; a similar portion of a larger one is singular in having a double ring, standing free except where the arms intersect; it shews rolls at the terminations of the arms, knot-work, plain square nail-heads, and rope-moulding. At Ramsbury, in the same county, there are parts of two cross-shafts, shewing interlaced work and a very curious variety of vine-pattern (in general character a good deal like the leaf of a diptych, attributed to the IX century, a cast of which is in the South Kensington Museum), with large animals in the circular openings, framed by almost leafless branches; there are also some grave-covers, with good interlaced work. (Ramsbury was from early in the X to the middle of the XI century the seat, or one of the seats, of the Bishops of Wiltshire, but this of course does not prove that the carving falls between these dates). It is still more strange to find a little grave-cover (about 2 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 3 inches), with interlaced work and key-pattern, rope-moulding round the edges, and two wheel-crosses at Bexhill in Sussex. This is said (*Victoria History of the County of Sussex*, part ii, p. 362, this part being by Philip M. Johnston, F.R.I.B.A.) to be "of a northern stone;" if this is so, it must have been brought by sea, but the specimens in Wiltshire can hardly have been executed except on the spot, though very possibly by Northern sculptors.

As regards the crosses in the Isle of Mann, Wales, and Cornwall, it is hardly necessary for our present purpose to discuss their relationship to Irish, or to Scottish, crosses.

J. ST. MARY AND ST. JOHN IN IRISH REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CRUCIFIXION

ST. MARY and St. John are not usually represented on Irish crosses until quite a late date, this being no doubt due to the shape of the cross; either they or the two soldiers had to be omitted from their proper place. But the figures on the ends of the cross-piece of the Termonfechin Cross are probably intended for them (this is like three crucifixes in the South Kensington Museum, of the XIV and XV centuries, where they are in quatrefoils at the ends of the arms), and so in all probability are the two persons below our Lord's feet on the Cross at Drumcliff, and those on each side of our Lord, above the soldiers with spear and sponge, on the Cross of Patrick and Columba at Kells, this last is of course more like their normal position. The Crucifixion here being on the shaft of the Cross, there is not the usual difficulty of inserting them; they stand below the arms of the cross, but above the soldiers, on a Carlovingian ivory panel of a book-cover, attributed to the X century, in the British Museum, and on a stone with the Crucifixion in relief now placed above the altar in the south aisle of Romsey Abbey; here there is one angel on each side of Christ's head; it is Saxon work.

On the shorter or south-eastern cross at Monasterboice and on the Durrow Cross, our Lord's ankles are bound, as they are on an ivory plaque of the X century in the South Kensington Museum.

K. NOTE ON THE WEST CROSS AT CLONMACNOIS

THE cleric and warrior represented upon the lowest panel on its eastern side are probably setting up a cross as a preliminary hallowing of the site, the first step towards the building of a church, before the laying of the foundation stone.

This was commonly insisted upon from early times, both in the East and the West (it is retained in the Roman Pontifical); it was (normally) to be done by the bishop. This seems to have been intended to be, or to have been made, the occasion for securing a proper public status for the church from the first, under the eye of the bishop:

Nemo ecclesiam aedificet antequam civitatis Episcopus veniat et ibidem crucem figat publice. (*Capitula Caroli Magni*, lib. 5, c. 229, quoted by Du Cange.)

The Cross of St. Tola, at Disert O'Dea, in a panel on the north side, shews two men in the middle planting a sort of 'tau-cross,' with a bishop on their right, and (almost certainly) one on their left, giving authority to their action. But whether in the early part of the X century the presence of a bishop would have been considered indispensable in Ireland may be doubted.

In Jocelin's life of St. Kentigern, the Saint, looking for a place to build a church, was directed to it by a wild boar:

Tunc Sanctus flexis genibus gratias agens omnipotentem Dominum adoravit, surgensque ab oratione in nomine Domini locum, et circumjacentia, benedixit: ac deinde in testimonium et signum salutis, et auspicium futurae religionis, ibidem crucem erigens tentoria fixit.

(The Saint was already a bishop, consecrated by a bishop from Ireland.) Of this life Reeves says: 'Although this piece of biography was not written till the close of the 12th century, it was compiled from much earlier authorities and embodied the traditional persuasion of the day.' A similar ceremony was used by the Cistercians in taking possession of land:

L'Abbé, tenant une croix de bois d'une main et de l'autre un bénitier, précédait les travailleurs; arrivé au milieu des broussailles, il y plantait la croix, comme pour prendre possession de cette terre vierge au nom de Jésus-Christ, etc.

It appears then that the use of some such ceremony was widely spread; it was likely that it should extend to Ireland, and (besides its having been used by, or attributed to, the British St. Kentigern) the Cross at Disert O'Dea appears to shew that it was actually used in Ireland. The question remains, what church is being founded? The ceremony seems to have been confined to taking possession of a new site, and it is certainly more probable that the stone church at Clonmacnois, built early in the X century, was the successor of another church on the same site. In this case the panel will refer to the original foundation, and the two persons represented will be St. Kieran and Diarmaid who gave him the ground.

The panel is a good deal worn, but what the two are planting appears to be a cross, and so it cannot be the corner-post of a church; in any case, however, this would hardly be an appropriate way of representing the commencement of a stone church, and it would have to be referred to the original

foundation of a church of wood. For a similar reason it seems very unlikely that it should represent the erection of the stone cross itself, which was certainly not set up at all in that manner. (For the above see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, 'Cruz, crucem figere, σταυρον πηγυρίζει,' who quotes or refers to Justinian's and Charlemagne's laws, the *Ordo Romanus*, etc.; Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, ii, c. xiii, p. 244; Goar, *Rituale Graecorum* (1730 edition) p. 487; *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii, p. 1736; Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, i, p. 192; *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1900, p. 248; Pinkerton, *Lives of the Scottish Saints* (revised and enlarged by Metcalfe, 1889), *Vita Kentegerni*, c. xxiv; Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Islands*, p. 27; L'Abbé Dubois, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Morimond*, p. 53.

L. SOME BOUNDARY-CROSSES OUTSIDE OF IRELAND

THE use of the cross to mark ecclesiastical boundaries was not confined to Ireland. Such use of crosses carved on stone is found early in the IX century in Aquitaine (see Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, saec. iv, i, p. 90, also p. 223). They were also so used at Hexham, and the position of those to the east and west is, I believe, still marked by the names "Maiden Cross" and "Whitecross Fields." At Ripon eight crosses were similarly placed (see Walbran, *Guide to Ripon*, p. 21), and a boundary cross is preserved in the Cathedral Library at Durham. In the instances from the north of England there may quite possibly have been borrowing from the Irish custom; they seem to correspond to the crosses which appear to mark the outer precincts at Glendalough; the custom, however, is by no means unnatural, and this may be a coincidence.

But what comes nearest to the erection of crosses round an Irish church is the erection of four crosses in a cemetery at its dedication. For instance, the rubric to an office, *De Benedictione Coemeterii*, says:

Ad cujus dedicationem faciendam plura sunt necessaria, videlicet quatuor cruces in quatuor angulis coemeterii, etc." (Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, i, p. 242.)

And the Abbé Dubois, speaking of the establishment of a Cistercian monastery in the early days of the Order, says:

On désigna d'abord l'emplacement du cimetière par des croix de bois plantées dans le sol et, l'évêque l'ayant béni, on traça l'enceinte. (*Histoire de l'Abbaye de Morimond*, p. 14.)

Maskell says that it is hard to find traces of this custom before the XII or XIII century; it may conceivably have come from Ireland, but it seems a very natural one anywhere.

The following illustration of the Irish custom is worth quoting. On the island of Raasay, close to Skye,

The eight crosses, which Martin mentions as pyramids for deceased ladies, stood in a semicircular line, which contained within it the chapel. They marked out the boundaries of the sacred territory within which an asylum was to be had. . . . There are few of them now remaining. . . . Mr. Donald McQueen, justly in my opinion, supposed the crosses which formed the inner circle [*i.e.*, those mentioned above] to be the church's landmarks." (Boswell's *Hebrides*, Friday, 10th September.)

M. THE LATER LIMIT OF THE DIVERGENT SPIRAL

IT is often said that the divergent spiral goes out of use in Ireland after the X century, or after 1050. (See *Guide to the Collection of Irish Antiquities, Science and Art Museum, Dublin, Part IV, The Christian Period*, and Miss Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Part I, p. 73.) It certainly tends to become rare after the XI century; but it seemed to me that there are distinct traces of it, in a debased form, on the back of the Cross of Cong, the date of which is (from the inscription on it) 1123, and even on the Shrine of St. Patrick's Tooth, made shortly before 1376. Both these are in the Dublin Museum.

If the cross at Drumcliff belongs to the XII century (see p. 98), as seems likely, this will be another late example. No doubt some workmen, schools of workmen, and their directors were more conservative than others.

N. NOTE ON THE CARVED DOORWAY AT MAGHERA

THE headdress is the conical cap (*baradh*, from Italian *biretta*) which form was used by the Gallican clergy of the early Church, and was continued in Ireland up to the end of the last century, as I am informed by my friend the Rev. J. Shearman. The first professors of the College at Maynooth wore this Gallican *baradh*, as may be seen in their portraits preserved in the Refectory at Maynooth, and it is also represented in the old portrait of David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, preserved at Jenkinstown, county of Kilkenny. (Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, edited by Miss Stokes, i, p. 117.)

David Rothe died in 1651. This cap is also shewn on a curious capital which is now at the west end of a church (already mentioned) at Carrick-on-Suir, or rather at Carrick Beg, the part of the town to the south of the river. The same cap (it is not a mitre) is also to be seen on the image, probably of St. Patrick, supposed to be of the XIV century, in the south transept of his Cathedral at Dublin.

There is an illustration of the Roman fresco in a *Souvenir of the Dwelling House of the Holy Martyrs John and Paul*, Rome, printed at the Institute of Pius IX, 1907.

The evidence for the date of the Shrine of the Stowe Missal is put together in Miss Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Part I, pp. 92-95, and appears to be quite certain.

O. THE DATE OF BANAGHER CHURCH

FROM the passage which is extracted from the *Annals of Ulster* in the note at p. 42 it is evident that there was a church at Banagher so early as the year 1121; but from the otherwise total silence of the annalists regarding this place, as well as from the fact that St. Muredhach O'Heney, the alleged founder, is not noticed in the calendars, and moreover that the form of his name is not reconcileable with a date anterior to the eleventh century, it is reasonable to assign its erection to a period within that limit. (*Acts of Archbishop Colton*, 1397, edited by the Rev. William Reeves, pp. 107, 108.)

The passage in the *Annals of Ulster* (edited by Hennessy) is:

1121. Gilla-Epscoip-Eogain Ua Andiaraidh, king of Ciannachta, was killed by his own kinsmen in the centre of the cemetery of Bennchar.

P. CONFESSIONALS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

IT is perhaps not certain that there are no genuine instances of confessionals (or of arrangements used as such) belonging to the later Middle Ages. There is, for instance, on the north side of the nave of Galway Church a recess (with a fine twisted pillar) which seems well adapted for this purpose (it has, I understand, been moved to its present position). Some of the recesses like sedilia in the Franciscan Abbey of Adare, at Askeaton, and at Athenry, seem not to have a very probable connection with altars—at all events with any at which more than the priest would usually officiate—and may possibly have been used for the same purpose. But I do not know of any certain example.

Q. THE "WARMING APPARATUS" IN CORMAC'S CHAPEL

THERE is another interesting—and a very puzzling—feature in the croft over the nave of Cormac's Chapel, apart from its general construction. The floor of the croft appears to have been quite a foot above the present level. "There is a large space at the west end for a fire-place but no chimney"—there is, however, (now at least) a hole some feet up, opening out through the west wall. At each side of the fireplace there are the ends of two horizontal passages like flues, which run round the chamber at the foot of the walls; that on the north now opens into the doorway of the northern tower, but may have once passed under the flooring there and joined the passage along the east wall. This met the passage along the south wall at the south-east angle of the chamber, where a short flue leads up into the southern tower in an upcast slanting direction. In the flues or passages running along the north and south sides of the croft there are a number of holes which opened horizontally into the chamber (or rather under its former floor), they are at equal intervals, about two feet apart, and those on the two sides were opposite each other; but a good many, though still traceable, have been stopped up with masonry. These appear to be the facts; their explanation is not easy.

The one most commonly given is that the flooring (now gone) was of flags (or perhaps, in part, of tiles), "laid over a hollow contiguous network of flues, like a Roman hypocaust." The difficulty in this theory is that no way is apparent by which the hot air could be driven, horizontally, into these, so as to give any adequate result. The plan suggested by Miss Stokes could hardly work.

Others suggest that the hole or passage on each side held a wooden wall-plate with cross-ties; that these have all now perished, but were necessary to hold up the western part (which had no abutment) while the work was fresh. But even if these were necessary or desirable (which appears unlikely—the building being of good construction without them) this theory does not explain the shaft into the tower, nor the connection of the passages with the fireplace.

Brash says:

I think it more probable that the flues in question were formed for the purpose of conveying currents of air under the huge fires that once filled the ample hearth—a contrivance still used by the peasantry in various parts of the country. The position of the flues on a level with the hearth favours this appropriation.

But this theory appears not to take into account the many holes which opened towards the chamber.

The plan for rebuilding the monastery of St. Gall shews a plan for a warming apparatus connected with the dormitory, which bears some resemblance to the arrangement in the croft at Cashel. Of the St. Gall plan Fergusson says:

All the living apartments have stoves in the angles, but the dormitory has a most scientific arrangement for heating; the furnace is at (X), and the smoke is conveyed away by a detached shaft at (Y) [near the other end of the dormitory], between which there must have been some arrangement of flues beneath the floor for heating the sleeping apartment of the monks.

(X) and (Y) are on the plan respectively marked "caminus" and "evaporatio fumi." A similar arrangement is also indicated somewhat less clearly in the infirmary and the novices' room.

On the whole it seems practically certain that a warming apparatus was intended at Cashel. It would not be impossible to suggest means by which it could have been made to work, but these are not existent or indicated in the building as it now stands. If the arrangement was founded on some example known, with the necessary means for drawing the hot air to where it was required insufficiently provided for, it would not be the only warming apparatus that has failed to work. Whether owing to such failure or to the disuse of an elaborate arrangement, the present open fireplace may have been made or adapted, as a last resource. (See Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 75, etc.; Brash, *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 97, etc.; Hill, *Monograph on Cormac's Chapel*; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, ii, p. 213, etc.; Mabillon, *Annales Benedictini*, ii, p. 570, etc. I am also much indebted to the caretaker of the Rock of Cashel, Mr. John Minogue, for checking, and correcting or confirming, my own observations.)

The chancel arch is not nearly in the centre of the east wall of the nave. This may be one of those apparently casual irregularities in mediaeval buildings, the reason of which has been much discussed.

R. INTERMIXTURE OF CHURCH AND DWELLING

THE placing of a church and domestic buildings (or some part of them) under one roof is (as shewn in the text of this book) strikingly common in Ireland. Besides such instances (belonging to various periods) as 'St. Columba's House' at Kells, Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, and the rooms above the eastern part of Holycross Abbey (where the room above the south transept chapels is more especially marked by its arrangements as a dwelling), a western tower was no doubt often similarly used, and it is very common to find that the western part of a church, or at all events the upper part of it, was made into a habitation; this corresponds on a humbler scale to the castle at the west end of Cashel Cathedral. Among many instances of this one may mention Melaghlin's Church at Clonmacnois, the Church at Kilbennan, near Tuam, and the Chapel near the old Parish Church at Adare. Dwellings attached to churches are mentioned so late as 1622 in Bishop Ussher's account of 'The State of the Diocese of Meath,'

as, for instance, "a little castle at the west end of the church" at Moylaghe and Mayne, and "a small stone house at the end of the church" at Dromrany. (*Works*, edited by Elrington, pp. cxvii, cxix, cxi.)

Such combinations are strikingly common in Ireland, but there is a certain number of similar instances in England. The arrangement of a house at the west end of a church, particularly on an upper floor, has its parallel in English castle chapels of the later Middle Ages, where a sitting-room, or even a bedroom, often forms the upper floor of what should be the western part of the chapel. (See Traill and Mann, *Social England*, ii, pp. 176, 177; Turner and Parker, *Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages, from Richard II to Henry VIII*, part I, p. 276, etc.) In English Romanesque churches there are, besides rooms over apsidal chapels, as in Gloucester and Norwich Cathedrals, examples of rooms above the chancel vault, as at St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, and at Darenth in Kent, which seem to have been living-rooms (see Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 221). In St. John's Church, Devizes, of the XII century, there is over the chancel vaulting and under the roof a room with a flat floor, 8 feet or more high to the ridge, accessible from the tower; the south transept also has a floor, the beams of which are old, forming an upper room, and the north transept seems to have been similar; St. Mary's, in the same town, also has a room over the Romanesque chancel. (At Compton, Surrey, in the Transitional church, as well as in the much later 'St. Michael's Loft' at Christchurch, Hampshire, the rooms, over the chancel and the Lady Chapel respectively, were certainly chapels; at Breamore, in Hampshire, there was a chapel in the upper story of the porch.) One of the transept chapels at Amesbury has a room over it. In Wymondham Abbey the dormitory stood over the south aisle, an arrangement which is still obvious. The Church of Boxgrove Priory, in Sussex, has its transepts divided into two floors, with open screens of wood, in the Perpendicular style, towards the church; the north transept abutted on the domestic buildings, but on the opposite side the south wall has been rebuilt with windows to suit this arrangement. At Bishop's Cannings, in Wiltshire, there is attached to the church a building of two stories, joined by a narrow spiral staircase, the lower one, at present used as a vestry, has (now, at all events) a fireplace in it under a plain segmental arch. The upper room has a nearly flat floor above the vaulting and a seat in the window. Other such combinations, in Essex and elsewhere, in some cases probably intended for recluses, are mentioned by Cutts (*Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages*, pp. 132, etc.). Rooms over porches are of course common; "at Wedmore, Bruton, and Cirencester the porch is three stories high." (Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 584.)

In Scotland, besides such examples of rooms over the vaults of chancel or nave as in the church on Egilsey, of very Irish character, and in St. Martin's, Haddington, there are later examples of the combination at Lincluden, Paisley, Arbuthnott and elsewhere. Torphichen Church has a complete house over it, and there appears plainly to have been a similar arrangement at the west end of St. Anthony's Chapel, Edinburgh; these buildings therefore bear a close resemblance to St. Doulough's and to Taghmon Church. (See Macgibbon and Ross, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland*, i, p. 127, etc.; p. 362, etc.; ii, pp. 388-393; iii, p. 23, etc.; p. 237, etc.; p. 139, etc.; p. 145, etc.; especially the illustrations.) Iona Cathedral certainly had an upper story over the choir and both

transepts (on the south this is plain outside, somewhat as at Boxgrove), though the fact has been overlooked or disregarded in the disastrous 'restoration' (in or before 1905) of this part of the church.

S. DATE OF ST. FLANNAN'S, KILLALOE

ST. FLANNAN'S Church at Killaloe, which has a croft over the nave, is in general a building of very ancient appearance. But the character of the capital on the north side of the doorway (resembling some in the choir at Canterbury Cathedral, in the north porch at Wells, and at New Shoreham) points unmistakably to a time not very early in the XII century. There is no sign that the doorway is an insertion; but, if it is not, the building—particularly its triangular-headed windows—must be a somewhat marked piece of archaism, which, however, has its parallel in some of the Round Towers.

T. THE DATE OF JERPOINT ABBEY

THE foundation of Jerpoint Abbey is usually assigned to A.D. 1180. But it must have been founded earlier, for:

(1) The Abbey of Killenny was founded, from Jerpoint, between 1162 and 1165—limits of date absolutely fixed by the signatures of witnesses to the charter of Dermot Mac Murrough, king of Leinster, authorizing the endowment of Killenny. Besides this, the charter of John, Lord of Ireland, confirms the grants made by Irishmen to Jerpoint, "before the first coming of Earl Richard," *i.e.* Strongbow, which was in 1170.

(2) But Jerpoint was itself the child of Baltinglass, which was founded from Mellifont in A.D. 1148 or 1151. Therefore the extreme limits possible for the foundation of Jerpoint are between 1148 and 1165, and, since neither Baltinglass nor Jerpoint was likely to send out a colony for the first few years of its existence, some date like 1155—or 1158, as Mr. Carrigan suggests—is most probable for the foundation of this Abbey.

The grant (of about 1180) by "Dumvaldus," *i.e.* Domhnall or Donnell, king of Ossory 1165-1185, referred to in John's charter, must have put the Abbey in an altogether better position, so that he was a sort of second founder, his father, Donnough, having possibly or probably founded the monastery originally. This second grant may very probably have been the occasion of partially rebuilding or completing the church on an enlarged scale, with nave aisles, which are certainly an after-thought, since they involve the stopping of two earlier windows in the western sides of the transepts.

Mr. Richard Langrishe, however, attributes the original building to a date early in the XII century. He says:

The distinctively Celtic type of the chancel and transepts, in the forms and details of their window opes, and of the aumbrey and sedilia, may surely permit the suggestion that these parts were erected as early as A.D. 1125. All the windows of the transepts exhibit the early Celtic form of the jambs inclining inwards. . . . From the closing up of a window

in the western side of each transept, owing to its being impinged on by the outer wall of each of the lateral aisles of the nave, and the almost entire obliteration of two other windows in the same sides of the transepts by the piers of the central tower, it plainly appears that the original design was that of a Celtic church of a plain cruciform character, devoid of internal arcades.

When we turn to the eastern sides of the transepts, we see four pointed arches, opening into four chapels, the usual accessories of a Cistercian church; these arches are of a date considerably later than the window openings of the transepts, and may be placed as coeval with the introduction of the Cistercian order, *circa* 1158, as well reasoned out by the Rev. William Carrigan.

Since this last sentence is perhaps ambiguous, it should be explained that Mr. Carrigan does not argue for any date before 1158 for the foundation of Jerpoint Abbey. Mr. Langrishe goes on to suggest that the Synod of Rathbreasail, about 1118, may have been indirectly the impulse to such an early foundation, "probably for the Benedictine Order." But of a foundation before 1155, or thereabouts, there is apparently no documentary trace whatever. And there were few Benedictine monasteries in Ireland, and of these very few were of early date, ordinary or Continental monasticism having been popularized there by the Cistercians.

As regards the points in the architecture adduced, the window left open in the south transept appears to have straight sides, though there may be some slight inclination—in the others it is very marked. But this is a feature which is continued in Ireland at the end of the XII century or even later; for instance, at Corcomroe, founded in 1194 or 1200, the sides of the doorway leading from the dormitory into the south transept incline in a most marked way. The sedilia at Jerpoint are scarcely earlier in appearance than those in the Cathedral at Newtown Trim, founded in 1206. Moreover, the cruciform plan of the church, which is certainly original, of itself suggests—in Ireland—foreign influence. The transept windows on the outside (as well as inside) look early; they are quite plain, with a 'reveal,' no doubt for a shutter, but this is common in Ireland, for instance in the windows of the Round Tower of *Teampull Finghin* at Clonmacnois, which was probably built at no very early date in the XII century (see pp. 60, 61, 208, etc.). A point which did appear to me to indicate some definite rebuilding or change of plan is a joint in the masonry on the outside of the north transept where—on the inside—the transept chapel joins the transept. This is very plain above the lowest 9 or 10 feet of the wall—indistinct below. It may be due to later rebuilding of the upper story, or possibly to the change of the eastern chapels to a square from an originally apsidal form, such as some of them appear to have had at Mellifont Abbey, Jerpoint's grandmother, so to speak, which was founded in 1142, consecrated in 1157 A.D.; there are perhaps yet other ways of accounting for the break in the masonry. The indication of one change of plan—in the addition of nave aisles—is unmistakable, and there may have been more than one change made during the progress of the building. But there does not seem to be any feature which may not fall between about 1155 and 1200; and in the absence of any documentary proof—or even of strong probability—it is obviously the sound plan to explain the church in accordance with what we know for certain of its history. There is a general air of fortification about the original building (as well as in later additions); there is, for instance, only one entrance to the

church except through the monastery, and most of the windows are kept very high up. In general it appears that "the simplicity of the Order" is enough to account for the plain and early appearance of this church, or of parts of it; some portions of the domestic buildings and of the church at Kirkstall Abbey are quite as plain, and, in particular, the transepts are just about as simple as those at Jerpoint, the ornament being confined to the arches leading into the transept chapels. This Cistercian abbey was built shortly after 1152.

The works referred to above are:

The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory, by the Rev. William Carrigan, C.C., F.S.A., etc., iv, p. 278, etc.; *Notes on Jerpoint Abbey, County Kilkenny*, by Richard Langrishe, Fellow, in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 30 June 1906; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1846 edition, vi, p. 1131.

U. THE DATES OF CERTAIN CISTERCIAN CHURCHES

ABBAY KNOCKMOY was founded in 1189 or 1190 (Ware, edited by Harris, 1764 edition, *The Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 276, and note by O'Donovan in *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1218); Corcomroe in 1194 or 1200 (Ware, as above, p. 275); Boyle was founded—on its present site—in 1161 (Ware, p. 276), its buildings were much injured by fire in 1202, it was consecrated in 1220 (*Annals of Lough Cé*), or in 1218 (*Annals of the Four Masters*). As to the extent of the injury from fire in 1202, it was then occupied by soldiers, English and Irish, and "No structure in the monastery was left without breaking and burning except the roofs of the houses alone, and even of these a great portion was broken and burned." (*Annals of Lough Cé*, edited by Hennessy in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland*.)

If the west window of Boyle Abbey is in part an imitation of the nave aisle of Christchurch, Dublin (as seems most probable), this part of the Abbey Church—in spite of the chevron—cannot be earlier than about A.D. 1230 (see pp. 140, 235). Such a date is on general grounds quite possible in Ireland (see p. 155), nor does the consecration of the church in 1218 or 1220 necessarily imply its completion by that year (see p. 236). Besides its Romanesque part (see p. 135) and its tower which, as it stands, appears to be somewhat later, the church plainly shews three styles of work, though all three are Transitional. The corbels in the nave do not seem to have been intended to carry a roof at the height at which it was actually built.

That the Chapter House at Abbey Knockmoy is also in imitation of Christchurch is probable, but in a somewhat less degree.

Dunbrody Abbey was founded about 1180 (see Archdall, *Monasticon*, Ware, *Antiquities*, p. 274; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846 edition), vi, part 2, p. 130; the evidence is very complete). Ware (*Bishops*, p. 456) says that Herlewin, Bishop of Leighlin, a Cistercian monk, "died in 1216 or 1217, and was buried in the Conventual Church of Dunbrothy, a great part of which he had built." The church is not said to have been completed by that date, and the mouldings in the transept chapels and nave are of well-developed XIII century character—perhaps of about A.D. 1250, or in Ireland later. These may, however, have been

carved or substituted for plain stones after the first building of the parts of the church where they occur.

In general it should be said that there may be a considerable interval between the year assigned to the foundation of a monastery and the completion of the whole—or indeed any part—of its permanent stone buildings, especially in monasteries of the Cistercian Order; see p. 169 and Appendix AA.

V. NOTES ON CHRISTCHURCH CATHEDRAL

PARKER, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1864 (p. 13, *Notes on the Architecture of Ireland*), says:

The windows of the north aisle [of the nave] . . . offer some peculiarities which are decidedly Irish. They have the same form which we find in the earliest Irish buildings, and which has been carried down through all styles to this date, or later; that is, the windows which are plain lancets are wider at the bottom than the top . . . The bands are angular, which is another peculiarity.

In the windows his engraving shews a slight, but unmistakable, narrowing.

Since the inclination of the sides of the windows referred to seems to be the only trace of Irish work in the building down to 1230, and since, on the other hand, it would by itself be sufficient to prove that Irish workmen were engaged on it, the point is of considerable importance. The church has been restored since Parker saw it; but I tried the corner of the west window of the north aisle (where the stone is unrestored) and one of the east windows of the Chapter House (which is of about 1230) with a spirit-level; and there was certainly no inclination visible. The sexton suggested that, since the wall leant—even now it leans a little—this might have given a false optical effect, as it still does to some extent. It is unlikely that the west window of the aisle would be built straight if the rest had inclined sides, more especially as the westernmost bay was built only a few years later—about 1235, a date fixed by the fact that in September of that year “the king granted leave to the Prior and brethren of the Holy Trinity, Dublin, to close up an ancient highway at the west end to lengthen their church.” (See *Christchurch, or the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Dublin*, by Sir Thomas Drew, in *The Builder* of May 5, 1894). And Irishmen are much more likely to have had a hand in the building of this bay, the arcade of which has mouldings and capitals of a different and more or less vernacular character.

With the possible exception just mentioned, the Cathedral appears to have been completed, in the first instance, as an English church on Irish soil, though in later alterations vernacular features (such as Irish battlements) were introduced.

The Cathedral has, since 1871, been very extensively ‘restored’ and parts of it rebuilt. I have of course taken care to cite no points in the text which are not certainly old—as can be ascertained from old prints, from descriptions of its earlier condition, as well as from the old stones in the work being left unscraped.

As to the connection with Glastonbury, when a mass of masonry, built against the north aisle of the nave of Christchurch Cathedral to secure it, was removed, “it was discovered that the buttresses had engaged nook-shafts in their angles, with carved capitals and moulded bases, almost identical with the

transept buttresses at Glastonbury Abbey. These are reproduced in the present work." (Butler, *The Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Dublin*, p. 46.)

As regards the carrying of mouldings round the bottom of the windows, that this is not a piece of fanciful restoration at Christchurch is quite plain from at least one old stone remaining in the west window of the north aisle—which, like the other old stones there, has been rightly left unscraped—also from the east windows of the chapter-house. The windows at the east end of St. David's Cathedral have been stopped and filled with mosaics. As to this 'framing,' see Appendix W.)

The south side of the nave of Christchurch came down with the groined roof in 1562, and was not then rebuilt in its original fashion; the north side is old work restored, and has now been copied on the south side, where "two of the shattered arcade piers were found embedded" in the wall. "There was no manner of doubt left or fancy to be exercised in restoration"—so far as this part of the church was concerned. (See paper in *The Builder*, cited above.)

W. MOULDINGS FRAMING WINDOWS

THE way in which mouldings are returned round the bottom of the windows is so exactly similar at St. David's and in Ireland, that it is impossible to doubt the influence of the one upon the other. At the same time there are certainly earlier examples in Ireland of a sort of frame being carried completely round an opening. There is such a frame, for instance, round the doors of the Round Towers at Kells and at Donaghmore. A round or roll moulding encloses the door of the Round Tower at Ardmore (this Tower must be of some late date in the XII century, since corbels apparently from some older building, themselves not of early Norman work, are built into it, one being used upside down). The door of the Round Tower at Timahoe (of the XII century) is also completely framed. We have seen that there is a similar frame round the south window of the nave in Banagher Church and Cahon Abbey (p. 102) to which a date at all events before 1121 must be assigned. It seems likely, therefore, that the fashion of carrying the mouldings across the sill as well as along the jambs and round the arch, while it is, like some other features in Irish architecture, connected with St. David's, yet gained a hold in Ireland partly because it more or less coincided with an earlier practice in Irish building—the two causes combining to produce one effect.

X. POINTED BRACKETS IN EARLY WORK

AT Lanercost Priory Church, the necessary part of which was consecrated in 1169 and the whole finished in 1250 (see Bond, *Gothic Architecture in England*, p. 647), the shafts carrying the choir arch and the arch of the west window are quite plain, tapering to a point; there are also short shafts, carrying supplementary capitals, attached to the pillars of the short choir aisles and helping to carry their roofs; the tapering points of these are fluted. In St. Hugh's Chapel,

Witham, there are semi-octagonal, and in the north transept of Dore Abbey triple shafts, ending in points which are covered with ornament. (See Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England*, pp. 105, 106.) There are also instances of pointed shafts, with and without ornament, in Carlisle Cathedral. Those in Ireland, at Kilfenora and elsewhere, are noticed in the text.

The pointed bracket is (as will be seen) characteristic of late Irish Gothic, and it is interesting to notice somewhat similar features in earlier work, such as probably suggested it.

Y. THE DATE OF THE EARLIEST PART OF KILKENNY CATHEDRAL

THE commencement of the present Kilkenny Cathedral (which is on the site of an older church) is often attributed to Hugh de Mapilton (1251-1256). This highly improbable date rests on the statement of Bishop Rothe (who died in 1651) that "Hugo Ruffus," the first English Bishop of Ossory (1202-1218), "*diversa bona in dicto monasterio [Kells, Co. Kilkenny] perpetravit, nihil in sede episcopali*"; that Hugo de Mapilton was "*primus fundator ecclesiae S^{ti} Kanici, Kilkenniae, qui eandem primo aedificare coepit*." (MS. *De Ossoriensi Diocesi*.)

On the other hand this Catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory is, as the Rev. William Carrigan points out, not very accurate in the part relating to the period between 1202 and 1406, and it is likely that Rothe confused the two Hughs, as he certainly did in regard to the foundation of the Chapter in the Cathedral, which he attributes to Hugh de Mapilton, while a charter of Hugh de Rous (or Hugo Rufus) shews that it was fully established in his time.

Moreover Harris, editing Ware, says of William of Kilkenny (Bishop, 1229-32) that, "while he sat, he is said to have forwarded the building of the Cathedral, as his predecessors, Peter Mannesin and Hugh Rufus also had done." And on general grounds it would be incredible that Transitional work was being built (not restored) after 1250 A.D. at Kilkenny by a bishop of English origin. For the evidence, see Carrigan, *History of the Diocese of Ossory*; Graves and Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of St. Canice's Cathedral*; and Ware, *The Bishops of Ireland*, edited by Harris, 1764.

The cathedral was built partly on the site of an Irish Romanesque church, some characteristic fragments of which are preserved in the Museum at Kilkenny.

Z. TEMPLE MAC DERMOT AND THE REGISTRY OF CLONMACNOISE

THE supposed evidence for the restoration of the Cathedral church about 1330 is in the *Registry of Clonmacnoise*—a list of the benefactions given to the community in return for rights of burial, since "the life of Kyran thus sett downe that the best blouds of Ireland have choosen their bodyes to be buried in Cluaine M^o Noise, for that Kyran had such power, being a holy bushop, through the will of God, that what soules harboured in the bodies buried under that dust may neuer be adiudged to damnation; wherefore those of the same bloud have

devided the churchyard amongst themselves by the consent of Kyran and his holy clearks." The evidence is: "Furthermore Mac Dermoda, w^{ch} was Tomaltagh, . . . hath repayred or built the great church uppon his owne costs." (*The Registry of Clonmacnoise*, with notes and introductory remarks by John O'Donovan, LL.D., in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*—now the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland—for 1856, New Series, vol. i, p. 444, etc.)

O'Donovan's note to this is:

"Mac Dermott, chief of Moylurg, now the barony of Boyle, in the county of Roscommon. Tomaltach Mac Dermott, here referred to, became chief of Moylurg in the year 1169 and died in the year 1206.¹ The Mac Dermotts, continued to inter the bodies of their chiefs in their church here till the year 1736."

But there was another Tomaltagh Mac Dermott, Lord of Moylurg, mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Annals of Ulster* who "assumed the lordship of Moylurg in 1331" and died in 1336, and it is to him that the building of the chancel has been attributed. There are, however, others in the XV century, e.g. one died in 1458 (*Annals of the Four Masters*). A further complication is introduced by the doubt as to the real date of the document: the original MS. was stolen in Ussher's time, and this obviously cuts off the chief means of forming a sound judgement on this point. Now the document itself professes to be of 1320; "it was the Bushop Muirchertagh O'Muiridhe that caused this to be written . . . when the yeare of the Lord was 20, three hundred and a thousand yeares." O'Donovan's note to this is: "There was no bishop of the name Muirchertagh O'Muiridhe at Clonmacnoise in 1320, nor since 1213, and it is very clear that this date is either a forgery or a blunder of transcribers. This document may have been originally drawn up in the lifetime of Muirchertagh O'Muiridhe, who died in 1213, but it is very clear that it was interpolated after the erection of the abbey of Kilconnell, about the year 1400"—the friars there being distinctly referred to in it. (See Appendix AA). It is of course possible that it is a forgery, though even then it may well embody known facts.

The wonderful documents and accounts of the early history of Peterborough inserted in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (the compilation of these in all probability began soon after 1116, when the monastic library and records had been burnt), while professing to be contemporary, betray their date as completely by their language and other marks as the *Registry of Clonmacnoise* does—in its present form—by its mention of Kilconnell. (See Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*.) It is, however, quite possible that the *Registry of Clonmacnoise* is a copy of an earlier work brought up to date, and as to the mistake regarding the time when Muirchertagh O'Muiridhe lived, there is more than one way possible of accounting for this—such slips or mistakes are not unknown even in modern books. However, I cannot find that there is any ground for attributing the 'restoration' of the great church to the Tomaltagh who died in 1336, except that it was supposed to be fixed by the character of the building to the XIV century—which is incorrect. And (unless there is some further evidence with which I am not acquainted) it naturally occurs to one to ask whether the 'restoration'

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

by Tomaltagh Mac Dermott may not have taken place in the XV century, which would fit the architectural facts, as we have them—one of the same name died in 1458.¹ But it seems probable that the document was drawn up before the ruin of Clonmacnois in the middle of the XVI century, and in that case the dating before 1320 of a document recording a 'restoration' so recent as one in the XV century would be startling, though perhaps this is not impossible.

What seems more probable is that what is referred to is an extensive rebuilding of the church in the latter part of the XII century or about 1200 A.D., as O'Donovan supposed; this is not inconsistent with the facts of the building allowing for the extent to which it has been altered subsequently. There are many fragments of Romanesque character preserved on the spot, some of which (at all events) may belong to this 'restoration' or rebuilding—among these may be mentioned the two bases now standing on each side of the west doorway, which have the foot-ornament in its Irish form, somewhat as we find it on a base preserved in Temple Dowling; we have seen it in a similar form in Romanesque Irish work elsewhere; in England (as in the south aisle of Chichester Cathedral and at Salisbury) the foot-ornament lasts on well into the XIII century. (It should be said that Blaymires' sketch of the west doorway, made in 1738, does not shew the bases in this position.) As to the doorway itself, this sketch shews it with a pointed arch in square-cut plain orders above—which is now gone: the capitals seem distinctly to suggest the scalloped capital as their parent; this was, as we have seen, freely treated in Ireland. Thus the choice seems to be either to attribute the doorway to a date before or about 1200, or to suppose that a Norman or Transitional capital was rather closely copied at a much later date, to which I know no certain parallel in Ireland, though there are examples more or less of the kind at Iona. The bases under the doorway look very much like Irish Romanesque work, and very unlike those of the later period, to which few, I suppose, would be inclined to attribute the doorway.

It is of course likely that the Mac Dermotts would be interested also in later times in the repair or adornment of the church with which they had such a special connection.

I regret that, owing to an insufficient acquaintance with the varieties of late Irish Gothic, I formerly followed Brash in attributing the chancel to about 1330.

AA. THE DATES OF CERTAIN XV AND XVI CENTURY ABBEYS, AND THE DATING OF A 'FOUNDATION'

THE FRANCISCAN ABBEY AT ADARE

THE history of the building of the Franciscan Friary at Adare is unusually complete. It was founded by Thomas, Earl of Kildare, and his wife in 1464. The friars took possession on 1st November in the same year, and the church was dedicated on the 19th of that month. The church, two sacristies, and the cemetery were consecrated on Michaelmas Day, 1466. But this does not imply the completion of the whole; and 'our founder' only paid for the building of

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters.*

the church and the fourth part of the cloisters, also for (stained) glass for the windows. Various other persons (named by Luke Wadding) built the tower, various chapels, other parts of the cloister (which is not uniform), the dormitory, the refectory, and gave the stalls and other woodwork on the north side of the choir. This precise information was derived from the Chapter Book of the Convent, which was still extant. (See Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, xiii p. 364, etc., and Lady Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare*, p. 74, etc. See also *Annals of the Four Masters*.)

This enables one to understand the sort of way in which the larger churches and their dependent buildings were built (or rebuilt and extended), not always at or near the date of their foundation. It may also partly account for want of uniformity in the different parts—at Adare and elsewhere.

ASKEATON ABBEY

Luke Wadding, under the year 1389, says:

Alius est hujus Custodiae conventus de Athskettin dictus. . . . Per haec tempora constructum ferunt a quodam Comite Desmoniae.

The Four Masters say, under the year 1420:

The Monastery of St. Francis at Eas-Gephtine in Munster on [*sic*] the bank of the Shannon, in the diocese of Limerick, was founded for Franciscan Friars by the Earl of Desmond, who erected a tomb in it for himself and his descendants.

Ware gives the date of the foundation as "1420, al. 1389." One can hardly hesitate to adopt the later date. Wadding's statement is vague, and he does not vouch for it; and there are certainly two cases in which such tradition told to him, or rumour, or guess, proved incorrect.

In this and in other similar instances one would much like to know whether the assignment of the earlier date was a mere mistake, or was due to the tendency of the human mind which made Englishmen assign the founding of a University at Oxford to Alfred the Great, and, in statements current on the spot (for which the Rev. James Dowd is not responsible), attributes the 'misereres' in Limerick Cathedral to the XII century, or whether it may possibly refer to an abortive attempt to found an abbey at the place, or to one which, so to speak, 'hung fire.'

DROMAHAIRE ABBEY

The date of the present buildings of the Friary at Dromahaire cannot be made out exactly, but they are later than 1512.

1509. The monastery of O'Rourke's town was commenced by O'Rourke (Owen) and his wife Margaret, the daughter of Conor O'Brien. (*Annals of the Four Masters*.)

But the church was at first of wood—an interesting survival of the common way of building in Ireland in early times—for, in 1512,

Margaret, daughter of Concobur O'Briain, queen of Lower Connacht, . . . wife of O'Ruairc, died and was buried in a wooden church she built herself for the Friars Minor close by Druim-da-ethiar. (*Annals of Ulster*.)

Later on there was a serious fire, but there is the usual uncertainty as to the parts damaged and the precise extent of damage done.

1536. The monastery of Druim-da-Ethiar was accidentally burned in the night, while

all were asleep, and Eremon O'Donnell . . . was burned within it, and a great quantity of property was also destroyed in it. (*Annals of the Four Masters.*)

If it was at all a common practice to build monasteries in the first instance of wood—in the later Middle Ages, as well as in earlier periods—this will make the date of the foundation a still rougher guide to the date of the permanent buildings.

KILCONNELL ABBEY

Archdall, grounding his statement upon Ware's MS., says that it was

Founded about 1400 by William O'Kelly, whose death is thus mentioned in the Obituary of this Friary:

"1420 3 Cal. Nov. obitus Will. magni O'Kelly, omnium Hibern. suo tempore nominatissimi ac principalis istius conventus fundatoris; reformatum anno 1460 per Malachiam filium Will. O'Kelly, qui obiit 13 Cal. May, 1464."

This is as strong evidence of the approximate date of the foundation as could be supplied.

Ware gives the precise year as 1414. (*The Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 280.)

The word 'principalis' should be noted, as illustrating what has been said and quoted above about the Franciscan Friary at Adare.

The Annals of the Four Masters, on the other hand, place its foundation in 1353, probably from confusing William O'Kelly with his grandfather; this appears likely from what O'Donovan says in his note.

The architecture does not support the earlier date. Most of it plainly belongs to the XV century, including the arcade in the transept; the capitals in this are a good deal like those at Roserk, though more elaborate. The window at the south end of the transept aisle (which is west of this arcade) follows XIV century models, but has an almost exact parallel at Askeaton.

The Abbey was repaired in 1604 (Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*, Part II, p. 10).

MUCKROSS ABBEY

The way in which the cost of a Friary might be provided is further illustrated by the case of Muckross, about which Luke Wadding (*Annales Minorum*, xiii, p. 432) very candidly confesses that the document sent him from Ireland had been incorrect, and that, in giving the date of its foundation under the year 1340, he had made a mistake of a whole century. The real date is fixed by the grant of an indulgence (which he quotes in full from the Papal records later on in the volume, on pp. 558, 559) dated 1468, which mentions that the Friars had then lived in the Abbey for about twenty years, but that the founder had not had the means to complete it on account of the constant wars forced on him by his enemies. An indulgence is therefore granted (under certain conditions) to those who contributed towards its completion, improvement, or maintenance. Accordingly, the date of its foundation will be somewhere about 1450, and it was completed at some date later than 1468.

It was repaired in 1626, as an inscription in the church shews.

QUIN ABBEY

Since the date of Quin Abbey has been otherwise stated, it will be better to give the evidence. Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. viii, p. 48, speaks

of its foundation under the year 1350, though he says that it was "fabricatus ignoto nobis tempore." (In the account which he there gives of it, its history appears to be confused with that of the castle on the same site.) But in vol. x, p. 218, under the year 1433, after citing a letter from the Pope encouraging the repairs and the building of a new tower at the Convent of Clare in the Diocese of Tuam, he mentions:

Aliud [monumentum] per quod conventus de Connych, sive de Coinhe, Laoniensis Diocesis, originem didicimus et fundatorem, quæ alias nos diximus ignorasse. Hoc anno Pontifex licentiam concessit nobili viro Maccon, Macna-Marra, *Duci*, inquit, *Clandcullyen*, ut illum ædificaret pro Fratribus Regularis Observantiæ.

Ware (*The Antiquities of Ireland*, edited by Harris, p. 280) also gives the date as 1433. Some persons seem to have been unable to believe, in spite of evidence and parallel instances, that XIII and XIV century features could appear in an Irish XV century church. *The Four Masters* say, under the year 1402, "The abbey of Cuinche, in Thomond, in the diocese of Killaloe, was founded for Franciscan Friars by Sheeda Cam Mac Namara, Lord of Clan Coilein." Thus in any case the date will be as is roughly stated in the text. The tower added to the XIII century church at Clare-Galway, mentioned above, bears a considerable resemblance to the tower at Quin.

ROSS ABBEY

The evidence as to the date of its foundation is confusing; it is given at length below.

Annals of the Four Masters:

1351. The Monastery of Ros-Oirbhealagh, in the diocese of Tuam, was erected for Franciscan Friars.

(O' Donovan's note is:

Now Rosserelly, on the river of Ross near Headford, in the barony of Clare and County of Galway.)

This date is confirmed by the History of the Franciscan Convents of Ireland, compiled by Father Mooney. This is quoted by Burke, *The Abbey of Ross*.

Wadding (*Annales Minorum*, vol. xiii, p. 458):

Anno 1470.

In eodem regno, diocesi Tuamensi et Comitatu Galviæ reformationem suscepit hoc anno Conventus Ros-Irialay, cujus primam foundationem incidisse in annum MCCCCLI, ignoto auctore, referunt monumenta Hibernica ad me recenter transmissa. Cum reliqua Cœnobia ab Anglis diriperentur, hoc sibi concedi obtinuit Comes Clan-Ricardus, cujus tutela adhuc persistit [the *Annales* were written 1625-1654]. Locus est solitarius, aquis undique circumvallatus, una tantum porta, et semita lapidibus strata accessibilis. Tutius itaque illic Fratres commorati, etsi etiam aliquando Anglorum passi excursions.

(The loneliness of the site, and the causeway, are unchanged, but the land around has been mostly drained.)

Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, gives the following accounts:

ROSS

A monastery for conventual Franciscans was founded at Ross-trailly in the diocese of Tuam, A.D. 1431, which was reformed by the Observantines in the year 1470. It is a very solitary place, being on all sides surrounded by water.

Ross-trailly must either be the present town of Ross, which gives name to the half-barony, or another town of the same name situated between Lough Corrib and a lesser lough in the barony of Moy-cullen.¹

ROSSERELLY

Situated on the river of Ross, near Lough Corrib in the barony of Clare.

The Lord Gannard founded a monastery here for Franciscans of the strict observance in the year 1498.²

A chapter of the Franciscan order was held here in 1509.

At the suppression of religious houses this friary was granted to the Earl of Clanricarde. See Aghrim.

The Roman Catholicicks repaired the monastery of Rosserelly in the year 1604.³ And the ruins, which yet remain, show it to have been a very extensive building.

Ware, *Antiquities*, gives the date as follows (under headings): "Co. Galway, Rosserelly, Franciscans [founded by] one of the Gannards [in] 1498."

This evidence is not easy to interpret. So far as I can remember, there is no part of the buildings (as they stand), including the cloisters, which appears to be earlier than the XV century, and most of them belong pretty obviously not to the earlier part of that century—they bear a considerable resemblance to Moyne Abbey, founded in 1460 (Wadding, xiii, p. 176). Ross Abbey may have been largely rebuilt in 1498. It is perhaps not impossible that the three testimonies to a foundation in 1351 may eventually come from one source and be incorrect, but, from our present knowledge, the earlier date for its foundation is too strongly supported to be put aside, though it appears to have little or no relation to the character of the present buildings.

THE DATING OF A 'FOUNDATION'

Upon this point the remarks of the author of the *Triumphalia Monasterii Sanctæ Crucis* are worth reproducing at length (p. 22):

Dissentire istæ inter se videntur temporum computationes circa annum hujus de Sancta Cruce monasterii foundationis.⁴ At non difficilis erit reconciliatio si speciatim considerentur anni supra præmemorati pro ipsa fundatione simulque habeatur ratio de ipso vocabulo fundatio quod late sumitur; quandoque pro stipulatione, sponsione, contractu, pactione, transactione, vel prima acquisitione alicujus loci vel fundi; quandoque etiam pro ecclesiæ vel monasterii vel castri erectione et structura, inque eodem loco et forsân pluribus post acquisitionem illius annis; quandoque etiam pro primo ingressu incolarum vel inhabitantium ad commorandum in eodem loco; quandoque pro translatione, reedificatione dirutorum ædificiorum, vel eorundem et situs ampliacione et auctione; quandoque denique in ecclesiasticis fundationibus annus incipit ab ecclesiæ vel basilicæ dedicationis vel consecrationis die.

Father Murphy, the editor, also rightly refers to the explanation by

¹ "Wadding, in Allemande."

² "War. MS., vol. xxxiv, and War. Mon."

³ "Cox" [*Hibernia Anglicana*, Part II, p. 10].

⁴ See pp. 169, 170, 172.

Du Cange, *Glossarium*, of the verb "Fundare"; part of this article runs as follows:

Haud abs re fuerit hic observare non eos solum Ecclesiæ vel Monasterii dici *Fundatores*, qui primum Ecclesiam aut Monasterium exstruunt dotantve ex proprio fundo; sed etiam illos qui instaurant vel augent maxime.

These remarks should be borne in mind as affording probable explanations of discrepancy in the dates assigned for the foundation of monasteries, and they are illustrated by certain cases where we have fairly full information as to the history of a monastery.

As to the last alternative suggested by the author of the *Triumphalia*—the consecration of the church being fixed as the date of the foundation—this seems actually to occur in the case of the Dominican Friary of Roscommon. Archdall gives the date of its foundation as 1253 or 1257; Ware (*Antiquities*, p. 277) gives it as 1253. The church was consecrated in 1257 by Tomaltach (or Thomas) O'Connor, Bishop of Elphin, according to the *Annals of Lough Cé*. Tomaltach became Archbishop of Tuam in 1258 or 1259 (Ware, *Bishops*, p. 629, and Hennessy's note to the *Annals of Lough Cé*, A.D. 1257). In this case the interval between the two dates is so short as to be unimportant, from an architectural point of view, but this is not always the case.

There is plainly reason for caution in accepting the year assigned for a foundation as necessarily dating the building founded, without further information or corroboration. In particular (as has been suggested above) the possibility must be borne in mind that (perhaps especially in the Cistercian Order) wooden buildings might be used for a considerable time. Thus, when Cîteaux was founded, "Domnus Odo Dux Burgundiæ . . . monasterium ligneum quod incœperunt, de suis totum consummavit" (*Exordium Cisterciensis Coenobii*, or *Exordium Parvum*, in Tissier, *Bibliotheca Patrum Cisterciensium*, i, p. 2). And it has been noticed that it would have been otherwise quite impossible for fresh monasteries to be founded at the rate at which in some cases this was actually done (see Micklethwaite, *Of the Cistercian Plan*, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii, 1882, p. 257). For an instance of this in Ireland, small swarms or 'casts' of monks being sent out from a monastery founded a few years before, see beginning of Appendix T. A clear instance of a friary being first established in wooden buildings, nearly at the end of the Middle Ages, at Dromahaire, has been mentioned above.

BB. THE TOMB IN CAHAN ABBEY, NEAR DUNGIVEN

THIS tomb, on the south side of the altar, appears to bear no inscription. But it is attributed by tradition to Cooley-na-Gall, and the person who lies there must obviously have been someone of special distinction among the chiefs of the O'Cahans (with whom the Abbey was closely connected) or he would hardly have had such a tomb in such a position. Thus, though the evidence falls short of absolute proof, there seems to be reason for believing the identification, and it is unhesitatingly accepted by O'Donovan (note to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the year 1385). The death of Cooley O'Cahan (called Cooley-na-Gall)

is noted under the year 1385 in the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Annals of Lough Cé*.

In any case the tomb is most naturally assigned to the second half of the XIV century. Besides its architectural interest, the quilted armour worn by Cooley himself and by his six galloglasses below is worth noticing (the 'camails' over the shoulders appear to be an extra protection of chain or ring armour). Such quilted armour is also represented in a drawing of Irish soldiers by Albert Dürer, made in 1521 (reproduced in Joyce's *A Child's History of Ireland*, p. 190), and is found on some of the effigies at Iona, for instance, on that attributed to MacQuarrie of Ulva, which is probably of the late XV or early XVI century—there was, naturally, a close connection between Ireland (particularly the north of it) and the western islands of Scotland. The conical helmets are also generally similar on both sides of the sea; one of those on the tomb attributed to MacIain of Ardnamurchan, in the Cathedral of Iona, comes nearest in shape to those of the galloglasses in Cahan Abbey; Cooley himself, however, has a curiously shaped helmet, like a Phrygian cap. (It is difficult to see why O'Donovan, in the note mentioned, describes these galloglasses as "foreigners"—they seem to be rather distinctively Irish, or at least Celtic). On the somewhat similar, better known, but less well-preserved tomb in Roscommon Abbey the helmets of the galloglasses are also conical, but they have upper tunics (as well as 'camails') of chain or ring armour over quilted under-tunics—they thus correspond to the armour of the Burke effigy at Glinsk, Co. Galway, of which there is a cast in the Dublin Museum.

Quilted armour is a considerable defence, particularly against a blow, a fact which is illustrated more or less by the protection afforded to the Russians in the Crimea by their thick great coats, as is noted by Kinglake in connection with the charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava, in which, though the Russian cavalry were broken up, few were killed. (See Kinglake, *War in the Crimea*, 1877 ed., v. p. 124). And it was used in England and in France even later than this time. But anyone holding anything like the position of Cooley O'Cahan would in England have had steel armour, in which plate had for the most part superseded chain-mail. Even where steel armour was worn in Ireland, it was—often at least—not 'up to date' from an English point of view; for instance, some represented in the cloisters at Jerpoint would in England be of about 1320, though these cloisters are XV century work.

The effigy at Glinsk, Co. Galway, may be compared with that of Cooley-na-Gall, but the armour is not identical, since the former has a tunic as well as a 'camail' of what certainly appears to be mail over a quilted tunic; the helmet is pointed and closely resembles several of those represented on Iona, except that it is, in a sort of way, fluted.

CC. NOTE ON GALWAY CHURCH

SEE Hardiman, *History of Galway*, p. 234, etc., and Appendix I, etc.

The church seems to have been for the most part rebuilt at great expense after 1484, when it was made collegiate and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Though it has lost much, in stained glass and otherwise, it affords particularly

interesting and unusually elaborate examples of very late Irish Gothic work. We are told that the western windows were enlarged in 1578 (p. 243), but it seems unlikely that the very elaborate ornamentation round the window mentioned is quite so late as this, though the tracery may be.

This church had fourteen altars (p. 246, note).

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